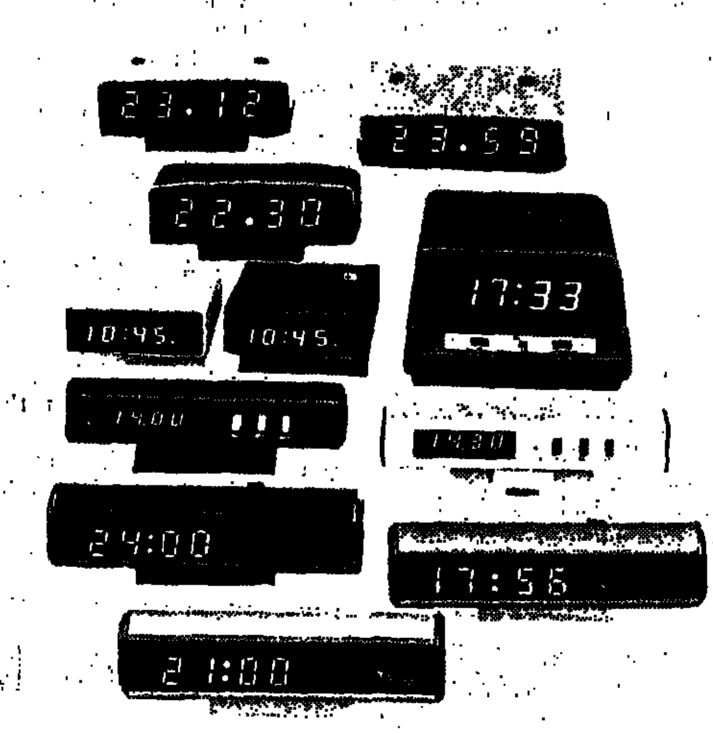
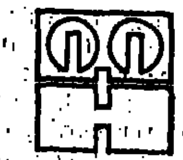
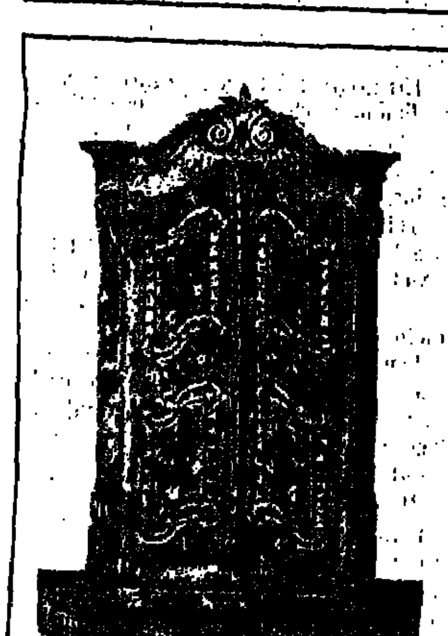
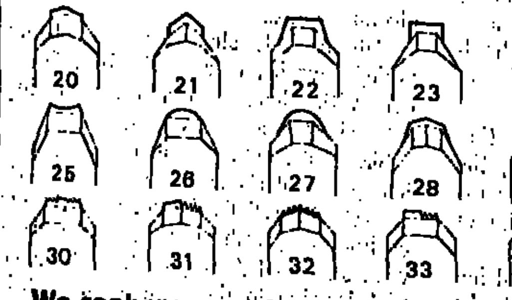








The German Tribune

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Bonn plots new line on raw materials

Deutsche Zeitung
Christ und Welt

In his travels to developing countries since 1977, Bonn Minister of Foreign Affairs Hans-Dietrich Genscher has found it unhelpful that he is regarded as the representative of a country pursuing "excessive" policies against the central control of raw materials.

Herr Genscher is determined to shake off this image. He is prepared to make more concessions in the interests of his overall foreign policy strategy. The plans and concepts his officials have worked out and published show that there is a clear trend towards softening on the issue.

New Minister of Development Rainer Offergeld has not yet put his position in detail, but he has said of the Common Raw Materials Fund that Bonn's position is "ideologically deadlocked" and he is hoping for a fresh international impetus from the North-South Commission chaired by Willy Brandt.

The decisive question is whether Helmut Schmidt and Graf Lambsdorff at the Western economic summit in July are going to stick to their view that an excessive bureaucracy for raw materials would not be in the interests of either the rich or the poor countries.

The more than 110 developing countries in Group 77 and the secretariat of Unctad stick rigidly to the maximum demands first made at the Unctad Nairobi conference in 1976. In November 1977 they broke off the second phase of the negotiations on a Raw Materials Fund because, in their view, "some industrial countries were not prepared to agree to the fundamental principles of a common fund."

Unctad wants to create a system whereby export prices for raw materials would be stabilised. This would be achieved within the framework of an "integrated raw materials programme" by means of two measures in particular: the creation of a common fund to finance raw materials equilibration stocks; a network of international raw materials agreements, with stocks which would control price developments by means of purchase and sales.

The negotiations on certain raw materials which have been on since the 1976 Nairobi conference have shown that raw materials equilibration stocks can only be a sensible instrument of price stabilisation for rubber, tea, coffee, copper and jute.

If one includes the agreements on tin, cocao and sugar already reached, this means that at the most eight agreements on equilibration stocks are likely in the near future.

The demands of the developing countries are summed up in a statement in November 1977:

1. The common fund is to be a central instrument of finance for equilibration stocks. "The availability of finance in the fund would mean raw materials agreements could be negotiated and financial obstacles to such agreements removed."

2. The fund is to be financed by direct and obligatory contributions. The system of contributions proposed would put most of the burden on the consumer countries.

3. The setting up of a so-called "second window" in the common fund by which measures such as diversification, marketing, research and processing could be financed.

4. The guarantee that the developing countries would have a decisive influence within the fund by a system of voting which would be unrelated to the size of a country's contribution.

The West agrees in principle on the necessity for a common fund but has its own proposals. It wants separate "autonomous" raw materials agreements as the essential feature of setting up and managing the equilibration stocks.

The industrial countries are prepared in principle to finance the equilibration stocks on an equal basis with the producer countries. The autonomous agreements involving equilibration stocks would then form a pool.

The maximum financial requirement would have to be worked out for each agreement. The countries in each agreement would have to pay 75 per cent cash and 25 per cent would be available from the pool. The cash would be deposited in the pool, that is in the fund, and all member countries would have the amounts available.

The agreements would be entitled to take credits of up to 25 per cent of the maximum finance requirement. This would, for the time being at least, mean parties to the agreement would not be required to pay out of their own pockets.

In November 1977 the industrial countries went substantially beyond this pure pool concept. If, due to lack of cash in the common fund, countries could not meet credit wishes for separate agreements, they would be entitled to take up loans on the free credit market. These would, of course, have to be guaranteed by the separate agreements. This proposal would guarantee in principle the financial autonomy of each agreement.

The second window was accepted in principle by the industrial countries in November 1977, although the question of aims and procedures was not resolved. The industrial countries would like to see the second window merely coordinating the numerous bilateral and multilateral agreements: It does not want another finance institution created.

The developing countries are not satisfied with these concessions. They do not want to renew negotiations until all the industrial countries show that they are prepared to move from their political position.

Then there is the tactical consideration that by continuing to wait and applying further pressure they could force more concessions. On the other hand, there is no doubt that tensions among the Group 77 countries were partially responsible for the breaking off of negotiations last November.

It is becoming increasingly clear that certain countries would prefer their own raw materials to be left out of discussions on the Common Fund (for example, Chilean copper and Columbian coffee.)

Other countries poor in raw materials only support the fund out of political solidarity. But they have their own interests in the creation of a second window.

Genscher's planners are now considering whether to make further concessions to the political pressure from Group 77.

They are thinking about reducing the financial burden for the separate equilibration stocks from a ratio of 75:25 to 50:50.

There are also proposals that a small symbolic amount (of 100 to 200 million dollars) should be paid into the fund to get it started. This would mean the fund would play "at least something of the catalyst part which the developing countries are demanding," planners say.

The hope is that if these concessions are made, Group 77 would accept that the fund would "only accept the buying up of stocks within the framework of agreements" and that voting could be dealt with in such a way that no group could control the fund.

As for the second window, Ministry of Foreign Affairs planners are prepared to give the fund not only a coordinating but a financing function. This package of compromises is meant to help reach a final agreement: "Then at last we will have found an institutional home for raw materials problems," they say.

The extra concessions under consideration mean a substantial reduction in the independence and autonomy of the separate equilibration stocks. The managers of the separate stocks could, in face of the increased possibility of resorting to the Common Fund, take more risks if they could also dip into the "big pot."

The contours between the responsibility of the separate fund managers and

Continued on page 2

Fraser talks

Australian Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser makes a point in talks with Chancellor Helmut Schmidt in Bonn over his desire to have the European Common Market opened to Australian agricultural produce. Mr Fraser also saw President Walter Scheel and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher. (Photo: dpa)

IN THIS ISSUE

■ FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Reading between the lines of Bonn's foreign policy

Is Bonn on the brink of foreign policy changes? Observers, especially those abroad, have been wondering for weeks.

In America, President Carter's security adviser *Brzezinski* has allowed the comment ascribed to him that Bonn is thinking in terms of voluntary Finlandisation.

"A load of rubbish," Bonn's government spokesman retorted, somewhat insultingly in view of the position of the man whose fear this evidently was.

Chancellor Schmidt promptly added that his talks at the Nato summit in Washington would explain everything, including his misinterpreted interview with *Newsweek*.

Herr Schmidt had to work hard at his explanation, especially as Mr Brezhnev had been profuse in his praise of Bonn's foreign policy, from Prague of all places, as the United States was quick to notice.

Soviet praise, it could be argued, was levelled at the tenor of the Bonn talks. But the atmosphere might not have been all that Mr Brezhnev meant; he could just have been referring to the subsequent discussion of his visit in Bonn.

Had not Helmut Schmidt inadvertently talked in terms of "reinsurance" — with its Bismarckian undertones that may have carried a reassuring note to some?

Hope springs eternal, and it did so not only on the government benches but also in the Opposition ranks. The tone of the Bonn-Moscow talks was encouragingly cordial compared with the current chill in ties between the two superpowers.

It would be wrong to accuse the Chancellor of unseemly courtship of Soviet favour. But he certainly wanted to show the Americans that he is his own man. He does not, on the other hand, hanker after neutrality as his fellow-Social Democrat Egon Bahr might well have done a few years ago.

Foreign policy changes have doubtless occurred to him as a possibility. A country such as the Federal Republic has to review and renew its foreign policy continuously. It has to maintain mobility.

Switzerland, by way of comparison, can afford to maintain an inflexible stance in keeping with its traditional neutrality.

This country's position is altogether different. European integration, for instance, at one point represented a way out of national decline and international isolation.

Nowadays Bonn is having to take a greater share of European responsibility than anyone else — and not only in its own economic interest.

There was a time when the Nato countries saw Bonn's military contribution as a necessary evil. Nowadays the Federal Republic is the second-largest Nato military power.

In the immediate post-war years we were only too grateful for US capital invested in Germany. Nowadays it seems a matter of course when Bonn statesmen grumble that the Germans have no intention of becoming the paymasters of Europe.

Times have evidently changed. To what extent is Bonn's foreign policy changing? Does it seek a greater degree of independence? Could Bonn seriously gain room to manoeuvre?

When the Soviet Union, in the early days of the Social and Free Democratic coalition in Bonn, invited Chancellor Brandt and Foreign Minister Scheel to Moscow for detente talks, it looked as though *a special relationship might be in the making.*

Egon Bahr held lengthy talks in the Kremlin — so much so that a special relationship seemed a foregone conclusion.

But, in retrospect, this relationship turned out to be no more than an aspect of ties between the two superpowers, who were veering towards detente.

In such circumstances it is hardly suprising that Soviet diplomats see fit to fly the occasional kite in Bonn's direction. Indeed, it seems natural.

Bonn's drive towards detente has returned to normal, whereas relations with the United States have grown more difficult. But this is undoubtedly due to US policy, details of which need hardly be mentioned.

Current US policy, on the other hand, plus its repercussions on Europe, has led to a German response which makes it far from surprising that other countries are wondering whether Bonn is contemplating foreign policy changes.

This is the background against which the talks between Chancellor Schmidt and President Brezhnev in Bonn must be seen. *The actual outcome of the talks would hardly seem to warrant the satisfaction shown by German diplomats.*

There are limits to a further extension of trade ties, the Soviet Union being heavily in debt and the credit ceiling having been reached.

The reference to Helsinki can only be regarded as platonic, while all that happened over Berlin was a partially reassuring exchange of views.

A more fundamental prospect, however, and certainly a personal stimulus as far as Herr Schmidt is concerned, is the hope that the Soviet Union might consent to arms limitation to the extent of conventional parity in Europe.

As a result the European members of Nato would gain in importance in relation to the United States, a step in the direction of a balance of power and its maintenance.

At the same time Bonn would have bridged a gap in the overall context of arms talks between the superpowers, although the shadow of the neutron bomb must not, of course, be forgotten.

These prospects can be painted in glowing colours, without the slightest indication of foreign policy changes. Bonn is *once* again donning the mantle of a *front-runner* for European stability.

But this only one side of the coin. *In* his misinterpreted magazine interview the Chancellor pointedly referred to the *special nature* of the German situation.

It was, he said, "extremely difficult and vulnerable." Then there was the unsolved problem of Berlin: "So our freedom of action is limited."

This is certainly an interesting turn of phrase. It indicates that Bonn's national interest limits its freedom of action towards the Soviet Union. But does this limitation not apply in equal measure to all Nato countries?

The *Nesweek* correspondent who interviewed Herr Schmidt took this to mean that the Chancellor was particularly anxious not to upset Mr Brezhnev.

But there is a likelier explanation. West Germany's position is a special one and the special nature of ties between Bonn and Moscow must be considered.

It would be wrong to accuse the Chancellor of having every conceivable possibility in mind. Any German politician who enters into negotiations with the Soviet Union is bound to expose himself to Soviet radiation, as it were.

This radiation undoubtedly includes powers of attraction, which makes it all *the more important not to succumb to* atmospheric impressions.

There is, moreover, another factor. Helmut Schmidt has repeatedly called on the United States to shoulder its leadership responsibilities.

This sounds clear enough, but it also entails spelling out to the United States the kind of leadership it ought to be providing.

In view of the weakness of America's current role in world affairs and the mistakes Washington has made, this is only natural, like a cry for help.

Konrad Adenauer repeatedly tried to influence America's conduct of world affairs, and he was quite prepared to run the risk of tension.

But the appeals by Helmut Schmidt sound a different, harsher note. Where Dr Adenauer presupposed a common interest, Herr Schmidt has imperceptibly come to call for the synchronisation of national interests.

No-one is denying that the United States is the boss or that the dollar remains the premier currency. But the dollar is fluctuating just like the exchange rates of other currencies.

This not only affects stock markets; it also forms part of the process of destabilisation of the West. And the faster this progresses, the more important a role national interests come to assume — in politics, as in economics.

The change in Bonn's foreign policy is not a matter of new strategic concepts. The government's public declarations of intent are seriously meant.

The problem is not a change in target by German policymakers; it is more that there is a lack of such targets. Is it unfair to suggest that suspicions of change testify to nasty sentiments of mistrust when Bonn so repeatedly outlines its foreign policy objectives?

They may indeed repeatedly be outlined, but the outlines are growing steadily less distinct, as are the approach routes. Bonn is increasingly obliged to adapt to a changing reality. All that is left is the nucleus of national interest.

Does the national interest not constitute, in the final analysis, the classical foundation of foreign policy? It does indeed, always supposing that countries are still in a position to play classical roles.

What are the conclusions to be drawn from Mr Brezhnev's visit to Bonn? A country such as the Federal Republic must certainly be careful if all that a world power such as the Soviet Union leaves behind as a token of its goodwill is, let us say, atmosphere.

Experience has shown that good weather can quickly grow oppressive. Mr Brezhnev left Bonn with expectations for which there are no guarantees.

Let us recall the expectations with which Napoleon was received at the council of princes in Erfurt in 1809. He was accorded the reception due to a powerful prince but an equal.

In the end, however, Napoleon announced: "I am not your prince, I am your master." We must take care to ensure that Bonn's ties with Russia do not veer in the same direction.

Instead, Bonn would do well to invest a greater wealth of ideas in the West. It is not enough merely to don the mantle of a seeker for stability.

This country ought to be more willing to labour for Western solidarity. It surely stands to benefit.

Otherwise "reinsurance" might turn out to be no more than a unilateral assurance of consideration for certain Soviet interests.

Instead of making foreign policy gains we would be paying domestic tribute — or are we already paying Danegeld?

Rüdiger Altmann

(Deutsche Zeitung, 9 June 1978)

Continued from page 1

the central fund management — still clear in the Western proposals of November 1977 — would be completely blurred. The bills for unsuccessful operations of separate stocks would not be paid by the producers and consumers concerned but by those participating in the Common Fund.

This would mean a certain trend towards careless management would be institutionalised, as the costs of failures would not have to be borne by those responsible.

The proposal for a symbolic contribution, paid regardless of how many agreements were reached, is also dubious. The existence of this sum would (and this is precisely the catalyst effect) so influence the course of negotiations that the problem of self-financing would be taken less seriously. For many producers of raw materials there would even be less incentive to agree to realistic prices.

The proposed concession on the second window, the acceptance of an extra financing function, seems absolutely superfluous in the face of the present abundance sources of finance. Up to now no solid project in this area has failed as a result of lack of money.

Otto Matzke

(Deutsche Zeitung, 16 June 1978)

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■ INTRA-GERMAN AFFAIRS

The case for the Day of German Unity

If Chancellor Schmidt had had his way, 1978 would be the last year in which we would celebrate the 17 June Day of German Unity.

A 25-year tug-of-war about a national holiday — contentious from the very beginning — would be elegantly settled because the citizens would not be deprived of a free day. Instead of 17 June, we would have a public holiday on Constitution Day in May.

But national symbols are not as changeable as fashions. The 17th of June, 1953 was a significant day in world history: GDR workers rose against a regime of exploitation and oppression, a unique event in the annals of world communism, signifying the first revolution of the masses against a "workers' and peasants' state", three years before the Hungarian uprising.

The abolishment of this holiday would be a political issue of the first order. Would it not be tantamount to giving up national unity? We would all then inevitably be confronted with the question whether we are still a nation and, indeed, want to be a nation.

If the answer was yes, we would have to examine whether it must be 17 June on which we celebrate national unity or whether the proclamation of the Basic Law (the Federal Republic of Germany's constitution), which in its preamble professes the unity of nation and state as well as the claim to sole representation of all Germans, should take its place as the national holiday.

The objections against 17 June have remained the same: the holiday results from an historic misunderstanding: it has become obsolete; it is desecrated by the public and robbed of its meaning; it no longer fits in our political landscape; and — the Chancellor's argument — "we cannot celebrate a defeat of the will for freedom."

When the idea of 17 June as a national holiday was conceived in a tide of national sentiments, both Bonn politicians and the demonstrators in East Berlin, Magdeburg and Leipzig believed the gate to reunification had been opened wide: the Soviet Union, which had no choice but to resort to tanks to protect an unloved regime from the people's ire, would relinquish its "zone" voluntarily, it was argued.

But in reality the crushing of the uprising strengthened the rule of Walter Ulbricht, whom the successors of Stalin had virtually given up.

Deeply disappointed, the Germans in the GDR had to realise that the Western powers, for fear of a third world war, were not prepared to step in. Left in the lurch, the people had to come to terms with Soviet communism.

The historic misunderstanding became evident a few years later, but the holiday continued to serve many politicians and publicists as a way of keeping alive the hope of reunification.

Open the gate wide, they demanded, at a time when one could still walk through the Brandenburg Gate.

The rude awakening set in on 13 August 1961 after the building of the Berlin Wall. A straight road leads from that date to the treaties with the East, and ever since the grand declamations in connection with the Day of Unity have sounded flat.

By 1972, the holiday had become meaningless for 28 per cent of our population.

Today, experts estimate that more than half of the generation between 19 and 28 consider the GDR and the Federal Republic of Germany not only as two states but also as two nations.

As chances for a reunification waned, the holiday degenerated into a welcome chance to travel or sunbathe.

Tired of constant complaints about the seemingly undignified attitude of the public, the Grand Coalition decided ten years ago to turn the national holiday into a working day in which the event would be remembered in quiet introspection. But the trade unions and the catering trade refused to lose the day off.

That opportunity (before the reorientation of our *Ostpolitik*) having been lost, no-one can abolish the holiday without coming to political harm and sowing new dissent.

Addressing the national congress of the Trade Union Confederation, Chancellor Schmidt rejected the contention that he wanted to bow to the other German state. But, at least since the Basic Treaty with the GDR, the commemoration of 17 June has become a burden to the federal government. It entails the risk of being accused of violating the principle of non-interference, of denying the legitimacy of the other state and of promoting irredentism among its people.

But the federal government was unable to publicly use this opportunistic argument. Its *Ostpolitik* has created a dilemma: on the one hand, it wants to reduce tensions in central Europe, normalise relations between the two German states and instil confidence in the neighbour in the East. On the other, it must keep the German question open as stipulated by the Bundestag when passing the treaties with the East.

Bonn wants to keep all avenues open, right into the next century, for a free self-determination of the German nation as a whole.

In fact, it is even bound by a constitutional Court ruling to "keep the claim to reunification alive at home and persevere in pursuing it abroad."

The government can thus not abolish 17 June as a memorial day; and should the national holiday be ended, the GDR would construe this as an act of "good conduct" and many people in this country would speak of surrender.



A day to remember: German workers from East Berlin march through the Brandenburg Gate carrying German flags on 17 June 1953, the day when all East Germany rose up against the communist regime and the red flags on the Brandenburg Gate were torn down. (Photo: dpa)

But even by introducing Constitution Day Bonn could not escape a dilemma: it would either have to make a point of adhering to the preamble to the Constitution, which is better not spoken of constantly, or the Opposition would accuse it of defeatism.

But what are we to think of the Chancellor's argument that 17 June could not become a generally accepted and "self-confident" holiday because it has the stigma of failure.

Two years ago he spoke differently, saying that the day reminded him that Germany did not only have an authoritarian tradition. And to the world we would appear faint-hearted if we were to give up the day.

The French dance in the streets on 14 July only because years ago a few reluctant prisoners were freed from the virtually unguarded Bastille. But countless "Bastilles" were stormed in the GDR in 1953, and many hundreds of political prisoners were freed.

Addressing the Bundestag 25 years ago, MP Willy Brandt said: "The day that should be a reason to lift our heads in pride must not become mere commemoration or indeed mourning."

Following this line of thought, the Social Democrats moved that 17 June become "*the* German national holiday."

Others have demonstrated how defeat can become the source of strength and national rebirth: the Yugoslavs in the centuries that followed the Battle of Kosovo Polje and the Irish after the Easter Uprising of 1916.

We cannot — for reasons of political expediency — disembark from history.

Almost as a matter of course, the GDR usurped the humanistic and liberal traditions of our nation. But what can be claimed for the East must be claimed for the free and constitutional West.

The workers and young people fought essentially for what is stipulated by our Constitution on 17 June 1953: for social justice, the pursuit of happiness, legality and democracy. In other words: for freedom and human rights.

Are these no longer ideals that can fire the imagination of a youth disgruntled with the state and drifting into political extremes?

Are we to abolish this day we can be proud of in favour of a rather artificial Constitution Day surrounded by party bickering? Are we to relinquish national memorials to the neo-Nazis and the Communist Party of Germany or the Biermanns and Dutschkes?

It cannot get us any further to accuse the Germans of using 17 June as a welcome opportunity for a picnic. It is enough to tell them in schools and parliaments what they should be commemorating. There is no way of evading the question of nationhood, and this is something that must be pondered at last.

Do we still want a common German state? Or have we forfeited the moral right to it through the crimes of the Third Reich?

Was the official of the Federal Centre for Political Education right when he said that the German national state was a "political objective not to be strived for in educational terms?" And all that despite the fact that everybody can see on television how GDR soccer fans speak of "Germany" when they mean the Federal Republic.

All these questions might be silenced if the Federal Republic of Germany withdraws into its shell, regarding itself as a state *and* a nation and forfeiting the memory of 17 June.

The writing on a plaque in a Berlin cemetary commemorating the dead of March 1848 also applies to the dead of 17 June: "You yourselves erected this monument, and this stone is but one earnest admonishment: that our people should never forgo the cause for which you died — to be united and free."

Karl-Heinz Janssen

(Die Zeit, 16 June 1978)

Honecker moves towards seeking Bonn meeting

DEUTSCHE ZEITUNG

The GDR is seeking talks with Bonn, as demonstrated by Erich Honecker setting aside 90 minutes of his precious time for talks with Günter Gaus, Bonn's permanent representative in East Berlin.

The talks, the first of their kind for two years, revolved around current and future negotiations between the two German states.

They also included almost all open German-German issues.

But the only concrete result seems meagre: negotiations on the building of a Berlin-Hamburg autobahn are to begin on 21 June. This could certainly have been arranged at a lower level and can hardly have been the aim of the talks.

Honecker has for some time wanted a meeting with Chancellor Schmidt. But so far the Chancellor has hesitated, saying that the atmosphere would have to allow concrete results from a summit.

Meanwhile, Honecker seems to have adopted the same view. His discussion with Gaus was probably the first step towards improving the climate.

(Deutsche Zeitung, 16 June 1978)

■ ISSUES

Prisoners of yesterday: the FDP's path to the future

Ralf Dahrendorf, former parliamentary secretary of state to Foreign Minister Walter Scheel, an EEC commissioner, and now head of the London School of Economics, looks at the recent reverses suffered by his party, the Free Democrats, and examines possible strategies for the future.

The FDP sometimes loses elections even when winning them. A case is *the general election of 1961, when the* party, with 12.8 per cent of the vote, wanted to form a coalition with the CDU but without Konrad Adenauer.

In the end, however, it joined a coalition with Adenauer as Chancellor. Another example was the Baden-Württemberg Land election in 1968, when the FDP got 14.8 per cent of the vote but the only coalition open to it was the "wrong" one (with the CDU).

On the other hand, the FDP can lose elections and still win them. In the general election of 1969 it only got 5.8 per cent of the vote but still formed a coalition with the SPD.

However, in the case of the recent Lower Saxony and Hamburg elections, the FDP has quite simply lost.

This fact is, to use Genscher's phrase, "more than just serious." This is not because the result is the FDP's death knell, or because the FDP leadership wishes to utter solemn warnings. The fact is that the Federal Republic of Germany would be a different country without the FDP.

Land Prime Ministers Klose of Hamburg and Albrecht of Lower Saxony both underlined this after the recent elections. The FDP has kept the possibility of change open, has *stressed* the necessity of change. In times of crises great (the end of the Adenauer era, the grand coalition) and small (the Strauss affair, the emergency laws) the FDP has proved that it can be relied on.

Is there anyone today who sees in the FDP the possibility, the necessity of change. By this I do not merely mean a change of coalition partners. The partners are all too similar to one another for any permutation of them to mean significant change. It is something much more important.

The three main political parties do not ask the vital questions. FDP voters then have to choose between voting for one of the other big parties, who behave the same way but at least offer permanent patronage, or else to vote for extra-parliamentary parties, Green and Motley Lists or a tax party, for example.

In analysing its present situation, the *FDP will have to take a close look at three mistakes.*

The first has to do with its programme. Being "liberal" is not in itself a programme, however extensively one may interpret the word. The FDP is proud of its 1972 Freiburg Theses. Yet these theses are at the most a coming to terms with the past.

It is symptomatic that Werner Maihofer, who saw the social liberal coalition as the working of the Hegelian *Weltgeist*, spoke of the year 1910 rather than 1970. The party's reconciliation to the ideas of co-determination and *property law reform* was an acceptance of the facts, not a programme for the future of the post-industrial world.

The Freiburg Theses enhanced the party's image and made it more socially acceptable, but they did not provide any vision of the future for our society.

The problems the Liberals have to face today are:

- Could it be that industrial growth above all things is no longer the precondition of freedom? Should we spend money on ensuring that our world is worth living in rather than merely financing new industrial projects?
- *Is the relation between education* and work in our society such that it helps the individual in a world of new forms of unemployment?
- How are we to solve the serious problems of maintaining law and order?
- Are there ways of maintaining high real wages and necessary services at the same time? Can the "pocket money society" be transformed into a society with initiative without cutting down on vital social services?
- Does opportunity perhaps not only mean freedom of choice but the preserving of important human values?
- How much government is necessary (not only in the economy but also in terms of the Radicals Decree) to spur the initiative of the individual. How are we going to disentangle ourselves from the nonsense of centralisation (which the FDP continues to advicate in administrative "reform" and educational policies) and move towards a market society.
- How are we to come to terms with the changed foreign policy climate. Is *there an answer to the dilemma of intra-*German policy and European policy? Have we any more than pious phrases to offer in the face of the threat of international class warfare?

This list of questions could go on. To answer them we need clear and probably controversial statements, not statesmanlike phrases. The FDP does not make these statements, it clings to the political fashions of yesteryear.

The second mistake is both practical and theoretical. Walter Scheel said of the 1969 elections results that the FDP always lost votes when it was a matter of basic problems. The majority of the electorate do not regard the FDP as capable of solutions to the fundamental questions.

Scheel acted on this important and correct observation by insisting that the FDP should occupy ministries which dealt with fundamental problems: The Ministry of the Interior, Foreign Affairs, Economic Affairs.

At first, this had the effect of giving the FDP a reputation of weakness. The FDP invented the *Ostpolitik* but did not, in the voters' opinion, put it in to practice.

The FDP lays claim to the philosophy of the free market economy, but only wont along with it. The party's image on home policy has oscillated over the years.

It was probably wrong to insist on having FDP men in these ministries in 1969 and 1972. The Ministry of the Interior is not a field for specifically liberal policy and certainly not for liberal reforms. Environmental policy should long since have been taken out of the competence of this absurd warehouse of German administration.

Ridiculous considerations of prestige were partly behind Werner Maihofer's decision to take over the Bonn Ministry of the Interior in 1974. The Ministry of Justice would certainly have provided the liberals with a better opportunity of realising their principles than the Interior. Or had Heinemann and Ehmke *already achieved everything that was poss*ible by the time Klug and Baumann took office?

Educational policy was perhaps in the final analysis only a liberal pretext. At least this is the impression one gets when one sees how rarely little interest the FDP has shown in the post of Minister of Education.

Energy policy was never the most prominent part of the FDP's overall economic policy, overseas development was only in good liberal hands when Walter Scheel was in charge.

The idea of occupying the basic ministries was a huge error. What the FDP needed was not the basic ministries but the ministries dealing with the future, not the administration of the already existing but the instigation of the new, not the world of yesterday but the world of tomorrow.

This led to the third and perhaps most serious mistake. To put it drastically: staying in government for too long can be the death of a party.

Certainly the purpose of political parties is not to be in opposition. Extra-parliamentary parties are better at this. But, on the other hand, in a free and democratic community the parties are not there only and always to govern.

This is highly applicable to the FDP. In all parties there are differences between voters and party officials but these differences take on an extreme form in the case of the liberals. Their supporters are impatient with governments. All liberals have a slight penchant for anarchy.

The party officials find it very difficult not to be in government. The years from 1957 to 1961 and from 1966 to 1969 — and the same applies in most of the Länder — were intervals rather than periods of normality in the history of the FDP.

There are certainly differences between the Länder. The pressure on the FDP to form government coalitions was always great and this was by no means always a disadvantage, whereas the FDP in Baden-Württemberg did not gain much from its 12-year period of opposition.

It remains true that one does not demonstrate one's independence by

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forming coalitions with one party here, with another there, but always with somebody. A small liberal party must be prepared to take a firm political stand without compromises in opposition.

At any rate, it cannot change partners without going through the valley (or perhaps on to the pastures?) of opposition. The cleverest liberal leaders have always know this. There is no direct way out of the arms of the SPD into those of the CDU, unless it be the way of ruin.

It is not easy to point towards new directions on the basis of these reflections. Many now realise that the FDP made a huge sacrifice in 1969 to bring the new coalition into being.

To bring about the change of government, the FDP had to sacrifice or relegate many of the features which made the change possible. It had to be open to new ways to form a coalition with the SPD, but the coalition with the SPD meant it had to concentrate on the safe, traditional positions.

This was necessary and we ought not to regret it now. It would also be utterly irresponsible to follow the example of the fickle Lower Saxony FDP and change horses at the half-way stage.

In 1980 the FDP will have to go into the election with a clear position or run the risk of doing badly. It will have to have the position of a party that asks new and awkward questions, that attacks the two larger parties fundamentally and not just superficially.

It should not seek to form a new coalition of any kind, even if it means that it would thereby pave the way for a minority government.

Ralf Dahrendorf

(Die Zeit, 9 June 1978)

Poll says 6 per cent would back environment party

Handelsblatt

About six per cent of German voters would vote for an environmental party in the next general election, according to a poll by the International Institute for Environment and Society of the West Berlin *Wissenschaftszentrum*.

The poll also found that the number of those sympathetic to such a party is about 20 per cent.

The Institute conducted the poll with the Allensbach Institute for Election Research, polling a representative sample of 2038 citizens of the Federal Republic of Germany (including Berlin). The demand for a consistent environment policy came third on the list oft political priorities, after the improvement of the economic situation and security.

The poll shows that people under 30 would especially favour such a party. One in six CDU/CSU voters said they could conceive of voting for an environmental party. The figure for the SPD was one in five voters and for the FDP as high as one in four.

Of those who see the protection of the environment as a big but basically solvable problem, 27 per cent do not believe that the established parties have acceptable proposals.

According to the *Wissenschaftszentrum*, the people "have little confidence in the mechanisms of party democracy," at least over the protection of the environment. They expect solutions from extra-parliamentary groups instead.

Only eleven per cent of all those polled believed that to do something about environmental, protection all one needed to do was to join an established parties.

(Handelsblatt, 13 June 1978)

■ POLITICS

Herbert Wehner comes under the microscope

After Adenauer, Herbert Wehner, who will be 72 on July 11, is the man who has had the most decisive influence on the history of the Federal Republic of Germany.

In 1949 SPD chairman Kurt Schumacher brought former communist and resistance figure Herbert Wehner, alias Kurt Funk, into the inner circle of the Social Democratic Party leadership.

Wehner was elected to the Bundestag and became chairman of the parliamentary committee for German questions. Schumacher hoped at the time that this would be a key position for reunification policy.

Since then, the meandering, breakdowns and the successes of this country's relations with the GDR have been closely associated with the name of Herbert Wehner.

Today, this passionate parliamentarian, tough, often bitter and at times unpredictable, is one of the key figures in the government coalition and does everything in his power, as he puts it, to help people.

The grand old man of the SPD too often distorts this key concept by nebulous formulations, mysterious silence and outbursts of rage. It is hardly surprising that most people have an image of Wehner as a man with an aggressive grimace.

What is he really like as a politician and a man? Until recently, there was no biography which gave anything like a satisfactory answer. Hans-Werner Graf Finck von Finckenstein and Gerhard Jahn have now written a book which tries to fill this gap.

It is a collection of documents which shows the deep unrest and the many contradictions of this wanderer between two worlds. There is a perceptive introductory essay by former journalist Günter Gaus, now the Federal Republic of Germany's Permanent Representative in East Berlin. The first work by Wehner is an essay written in 1942, in which Wehner, then an exile in Sweden, describes Lenin as the saviour of Russia and Stalin as his "pupil, brother in arms and successor."

This obligatory Stalinist hymn of praise can only frighten today's reader. In a *Zeit* interview in 1975, however, the former Stalinist urges the SPD to remain loyal to its anti-communist Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, "a man the party can absolutely rely on."

Former Bonn Minister of Justice Gerhard Jahn was the editor of a collection of Wehner's essays published on his 70th birthday. In the preface, SPD chairman Willy Brandt forces himself to make some complimentary remarks, but he cannot resist a few hidden sideswipes at the man with whom he has in common much politically and little personally — the man who deposed him as Chancellor.

Brandt says that Wehner was "also" responsible for the SPD getting into power. This is an understatement. Wehner started paving the way for the 1966 grand coalition with the CDU earlier and more energetically than Brandt. In doing so, he took party to the brink of self-abnegation.

Among the authors who write critical and positive essays about the enigma of Herbert Wehner are Ernst Bloch, Heinrich Böll, Johann Baptist Gradl (CDU), Wolfgang Mischnick (FDP), Carlo Schmid and the conservative journalist Paul Wilhelm Wenger.

Björn Engholm, a young leftwing Bundestag MP, oscillates between love and hate in his portrait of Wehner. He says he has "enjoyed and endured, suffered and condemned Wehner."

"Wehner, who is known as Uncle Herbert, is inimitable, commands respect but can be disrespectful, is sometimes endearing and sometimes crushing. In short, there is nothing avuncular about him."

FDP parliamentary party chairman Wolfgang Mischnick, who like Herbert was born in Dresden and like him has spent many years ensuring the smooth running of the coalition, describes a less known side of Wehner — Wehner as gardener, as giver of gifts such as flowers and porcelain.

Alfred Freudenhammer and Karl-Heinz Vater in their biography of Wehner, claim that he uses these signs of personal friendship for political purposes. The two *Spiegel* journalists point out that Wehner used all his charm on CDU/CSU politicians such as Lücke, Guttenberg and Kiesinger, only to forget, reject, and even mock them as soon as they had become dispensable.

Freudenhammer and Vater believe they have revealed the essence of Herbert Wehner. They argue that Wehner's dream is the re-establishment of the unity of the working class, now split into two parties, the SPD and the SED, in two German states. He wishes, they argue, to create a unified German state on the basis of democratic socialism.

All the confusing and contradictory statements and exhortations he has made in the past have to be seen in terms of this utopian vision, the authors say. They say his secret visits to Tito (1956), Kekkonen (1967) and Honecker (1973) make sense in this context, as do his criticism of Willy Brandt in Moscow and his constant urging of Chancellor Schmidt to meet Honecker and put more effort into disarmament.

The authors introduce a speculative, entertainment element into their account. They say Wehner and the former GDR leader Walter Ulbricht had been enemies since the 1930s when they both struggled for the leadership of the German working class.

Wehner, who is feared for his quickness in inventing derisive epithets, nicknamed Ulbricht Wulbricht to ridicule his coarse manner. On the other hand, when Ulbricht came to power in the GDR he won at least half the duel.

This sensationalist approach to history was really not necessary because the two authors have used the extensive source material, including records of Wehner's trial as a Soviet spy in Sweden, to produce exciting reading.

Wehner himself has not done anything to help his biographers. The suspicion that this is because he wants to avoid dark secrets being unearthed proves unfounded in this book. Wehner did not betray anyone to the Gestapo, as some, communists and noncommunists, have claimed. Since Honecker came to power in the GDR, not even the SED central organ *Neues Deutschland* is allowed to spread defamatory rumours about Wehner.

Honecker and Wehner worked together in the Saarland in 1934. They still respect one another and Wehner has used this to buy political prisoners out of GDR prisons. The number of these prisoners, which include former Nazis, runs into thousands. But the help Wehner gives is very much behind the scenes, in the interests of those still in prison.

This is not yet the definitive biography of Herbert Wehner. This will only be written when the piles of files and written notes in his Bonn home have been carefully sorted out and evaluated.

Jens Gundlach

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 7 June 1978)

Herbert Wehner, Wandel und Bewährung. Ausgewählte Rede und Schriften 1930 bis 1975, edited by Hans-Werner Graf Finck von Finckenstein and Gerhard Jahn, Dietz Verlag, Bonn-Bad Godesberg, 491 pages. DM32.

Herbert Wehner, Beiträge zu einer Biographie, edited by Gerhard Jahn, Kiepenheuer und Witsch, Cologne, 302 pages. DM29.80.

Alfred Freudenhammer and Karl-Heinz Vater, *Herbert Wehner. Ein Leben mit der Deutschen Frage,* Bertelsmann Verlag, Munich, 400 pages. DM34.



Herbert Wehner: a biography which tries to answer the important questions

(Photo: Marianne von der Lancken)

The first year of durable Dr Wallmann

On June 15 1977 the CDU gained a majority in local council elections in Frankfurt, traditionally an SPD bastion.

Christian Democrat Dr. Walter Wallmann, 46, became mayor. Wallmann's predecessor Rudi Arndt made a cynical comment on his chances: "The sooner he starts here, the sooner he'll be finished." Since then the SPD has found that Dr Wallmann is far more durable than they expected.

Wallmann is mayor of a city where his party, the CDU, has a majority on the city council but in the town council the 11 CDU men can be outvoted at any time by 12 SPD members.

It is a fascinating lesson in political tactics to see how Wallmann overcomes this handicap. Right from the start, he described himself as mayor of all the people in Frankfurt.

A year after coming to office, he has made this claim good, so much so that even the political sceptics and opposition leader Rudi Arndt have been included in the Wallmann circle of goodwill. Personal insults which were standard when the SPD was in office are now rarely heard.

Wallmann found his task all the easier because from the start he regarded himself as the Christian Democrat ambassador in Frankfurt under difficult conditions. When he took office, all the parties expected a reshuffle in the town council which would change the balance of power. In the *Magistrat*, the governing body, the SPD had a clear majority of eight to two.



Dr Walter Wallman, Frankfurt's CDU mayor: the end of personal insults

(Photo: Sven Simon)

Observers forecast that Wallmann would use the CDU majority to increase the number of posts and put his own men in the new positions. This would have outmanoeuvred the Social Democrats.

These predictions proved wrong. Wallmann put new men into the personnel department and the education department, but no other new appointments. The SPD men stayed in office.

The most remarkable proof of Wallmann's skill in bridging gaps is the cooperation between the conservative mayor and the "red" head of the culture department, Himar Hoffmann.

Only a few weeks after taking office, Walter Wallmann dropped one of the most sensational items in his election campaign programme the plan to put communal cinemas into private hands.

Wallmann says: "After many discussions, I realised that there is nothing wrong with the communal cinema itself, it is just that we have to prevent the programmes from being too one-sided politically."

Wallmann has grown in stature politically in his year of office in Frankfurt. He has realised that to have and to achieve political aims are different things. In April, he faced his most difficult problem: reorganising the *Kitas* (progressive kindergartens introduced by the Social Democrats) and making them traditional kindergartens.

When the demonstrations against this move reached their high point, Wallmann's party colleagues advised him to use the police to break them up. Wallmann refused.

Walter Wallmann, the Mr Clean from Central Hesse, has made clear the policies he intends to pursue in Frankfurt. Whatever else one may say about his first year, one thing is clear: the era of dirty political scandals came to an end when he took over.

(Hamburger Abendblatt, 13 June 1978)

■ EEC

Europarliament election date still in doubt

It is still uncertain whether the direct election between 7 and 10 June 1979 of the 410 deputies to the European Parliament will take place.

The heads of state and government decided on the election at their Copenhagen conference in April, but the formal decision is still to be made by the Council of Ministers in consultation with the present parliament.

It had been hoped that the procedure could begin this week. But once more preconditions remained unfulfilled.

Europe is still waiting for Paris and London to finalise their constitutional consent procedures — something already done by the other seven countries.

It was generally expected that France would come through first because — much to everybody's surprise — it was first to complete the legal framework.

Brussels pundits ask themselves whether Paris is only waiting for Britain, which has the most difficulty, to finalise matters.

Since this is expected to take place within the next few days, it will soon become clear whether this was the only reason for France's delay.

June is considered the absolute deadline for the agreement of the governments to hold direct elections to come into force on 1 July. The present parliament could then present its comments on the election date in July and the Council of Ministers could finalise the matter in its last session before the summer recess (the first one under German chairmanship).

Whether another delay would still make it possible to keep to the planned election date is uncertain. Though the parties are already on their marks, legally we only have a framework without substance and this means the time-consuming solution of several problems.

While there is still uncertainty over the legislative and administrative preparations, the growing unrest among the political parties shows that things are about to happen.

Prominent and accomplished politicians of all shades have said that they will stand for election.

The most European of newspapers, the Europa Union's *Europäische Zeitung*, recently carried the headline: "The elephants are coming — amazing who want to get into the European Parliament".

The article warns against allowing the European Parliament to become an "elephant graveyard" and a belated contribution to International Monument Year.

Many names mentioned in connection with the direct elections give the impression that it is mostly senior politicians and elder statesmen who want seats and who would exercise their mellifluous oratory. There seem to be few who would do the spadework necessary if this Parliament is to secure its place (as did the post-1871 Reichstag, conceived by Bismarck as a decorative and advisory body).

Two politicians, the Bundestag and European Parliament member Egon Klepsch, chairman of the Christian Democrats in the EC Parliament, and Erwin Reister, experienced in the administration of the EC Parliament, have published a vade-mecum entitled "The European Deputy" (Nomos Verlags-gesellschaft, Baden-Baden).

The book is just in time and cannot be highly enough recommended — above all to those most directly concerned.

Well documented, the book contains all the information on the direct elections worth having and everything candidates for a seat need to know.

Thus, for instance, we learn that in 1977 the 36 German members of the present European Parliament had to put in an average of 107 days of attendance in the general assembly, committees and the parliamentary party. Of these MPs, 22 put in between 159 and 93 days — more than the average attendance for 1977.

The average 1977 attendance for the Bundestag was 90 days.

It must, however, be remembered that EC MPs are still delegated by the Bundestag, thus holding a double mandate and having to attend in Bonn as well.

Since attendance at the European Parliament is divided between Brussels (committee sessions) and Luxembourg and Strasbourg (general assemblies), plus other venues for the parliamentary party, Germany's 36 deputies travelled an average of 34,100 kilometres in 1977.

The European mandate will be a full-time job for the 410 directly elected deputies (81 from the Federal Republic) — especially since no final venue has yet been agreed on.

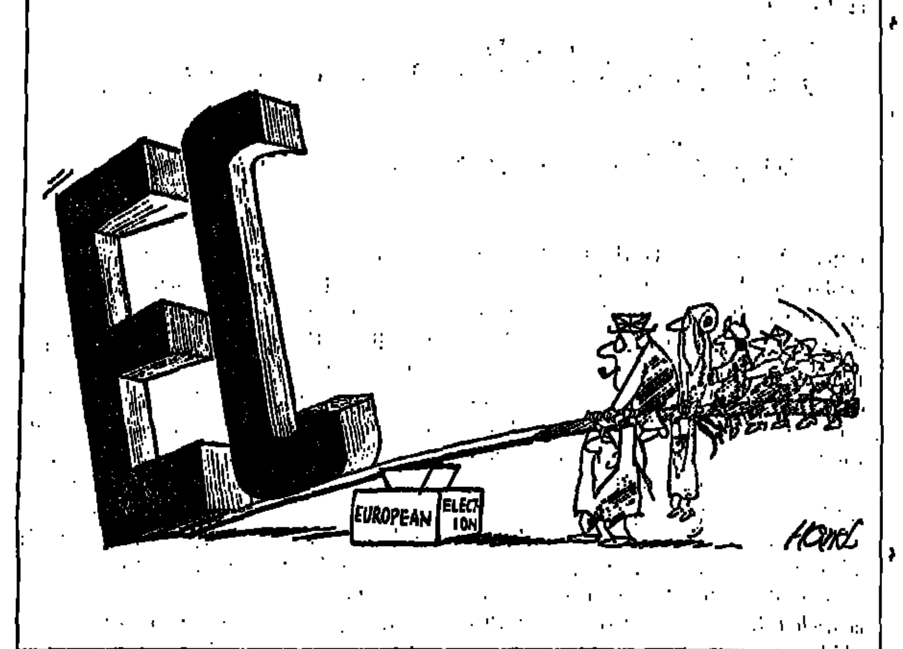
The time and energy needed for this "itinerant circus" will remain unchanged.

Moreover, the deputies will have to devote themselves to their constituencies (in the Federal Republic this amounts to a population of 763,000) if they are to retain their seats in the next election.

What will matter for the election is that the majority party or the majority coalition should have a say in the composition of the EC Commission and its activities.

For committed European politicians, this is a major democratic objective. For opponents of Europe it is a bogeyman, and for some party tacticians it is a possibility to which they will have to adapt to avoid beeing steamrollered in the parliamentary tug-of-war. This calls for dedicated and efficient deputies.

Carl A. Ehrhardt
(Handelsblatt, 8 June 1978)



(Cartoon: Walter Hanel/Deutsche Zeitung)

Lomé preamble to have human rights clause

The preamble to the Lomé Convention between the European Community and 56 African, Caribbean and Pacific developing countries, the extension of which will be negotiated this year, will contain a reference to human rights.

The Community Foreign Ministers, meeting in Luxembourg on 6 June, will evaluate the EC Commission proposals for extending this comprehensive partnership and assistnace treaty which the Community considers a model of modern policy towards the Third World.

The most important issues at the Luxembourg conference are Lomé II (for which negotiations begin in Brussels on 24 July, the date for the negotiations on Portugal's EEC membership, Yugoslavia's and Australia's call for a further opening of the Community market, the Gatt negotiations in Geneva and the strategy for overcoming the Community's economic crisis.

The spiritual father of the Lomé Convention, EC Commissioner Cheysson, following a three-week tour of Africa, found that only Uganda had fundamental reservations on the reference to human rights.

The majority of the ACP countries will accept the reference in the preamble to Lomé II provided it does not mean the avowal of a specific form of government and is understood instead as respect for the dignity and liberty of man. Another proviso is that violations do not automatically lead to a discontinuation of European assistance.

Official EEC membership negotiations with Portugal (in addition to current negotiations with Greece) are expected to begin in the autumn.

The EC Commission has not yet worked out specific proposals for membership negotiations with Spain. *dpa*
(Bremer Nachrichten, 6 June 19·

EC offers to Turkey, Greece

The European Community has decided to offer closer cooperation to membership candidate Greece and associate member Turkey.

At their Copenhagen meeting, the Community Foreign Ministers decided that from September Greece should be encouraged to cooperate with the Nine in foreign affairs.

In the new round of membership negotiations, the Greek delegate is to be told on 26 June that his government will be kept informed of the results of EC Foreign Ministers' conferences and meetings of the political committee.

To balance the treatment of the two feuding parties, Turkey was offered political cooperation after the joining of the Community by Greece from 1980.

After foreign affairs conferences and sessions of the political committee, Turkey will be invited to exchange views on political cooperation in talks with the Community.

But cooperation with Turkey is to be restricted to problems involving the Mediterranean area.

This offer to Ankara is to dispel Turkish fears that the inclusion of Greece in the foreign affairs deliberations of the Community could induce the EC to favour Greece in the conflict with Turkey.

The political committee has been instructed to work out proposals for the participation of Spain and Portugal (whose membershhp negotiations have not yet begun) in foreign policy cooperation. *dpa*
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 13 June 1978)

Klepsch suggests European cooperation on arms

Egon Klepsch, floor leader of the European People's Party (EVP) in the European Parliament, has suggested the establishment of a European "Agency for Armament Procurement."

The agency is seen as an extended arm of the Independent European Programme Group (IEPG), established by the Nato countries, and including France, in 1975.

The German CDU deputy would like to make cooperation over arms a "cornerstone" in a European industrial policy.

While liberals and conservatives support the plan, the socialists reject it as "politically extremely delicate."

Arms cooperation, the Dutchman Pieter Dankert said, was a matter for the national defence Ministers. They should be induced to buy more arms in Europe.

The communists were divided: French leftists said the EC Parliament had no authority to debate armaments. The communists also oppose integration in defence matters.

Former EC industry commissioner Spinelli, on the other hand, said that the Italian communists would go along because this would reduce dependence on a major non-European power. *dpa*
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 14 June 1978)

■ FINANCE

Matthöfer's quiet start cloaks urge to achieve

Following Helmut Schmidt's February Cabinet reshuffle, a leading FDP politician said he had no objection to the new Ministers — with one exception: he could not understand what made the Chancellor appoint the "leftist" Hans Matthöfer Minister of Finance.

Several other notables, mostly businessmen and bank chairmen, who regard the finance ministry as the heart of the country, reacted similarly.

Some feared that bank secrecy would soon be curtailed, while others repeated rumours that tax-free re-investment of proceeds from the sale of companies would soon be a thing of the past.

Matthöfer's term in office began differently than those of other new Ministers who, for reasons unknown, were granted a 100-day period of grace.

Matthöfer began by issuing cautious denials.

Meanwhile, his critics have calmed down somewhat. They were evidently pleased that, for close to three months, no major announcements were made by the new Finance Minister.

He announced only a fairly insignificant monetary agreement between Bonn and Washington and made a few unimportant statements about future budget and tax policy.

For the rest, he quietly got the feel of his new office, devoting himself for a few weeks to the budget and investments by the public sector, followed by monetary policy and, finally, to fiscal policy: a sort of advanced course.

But this should not deceive anybody. Hans Matthöfer is still to have his day.

Those who saw in him a mere auxiliary giving up his Research Minister visits to solar-heated swimming pools and tasting sessions of Antartic krill (all of it accompanied by TV cameras) to replace Hans Apel — retraining as Defence Minister — will have to revise their views.

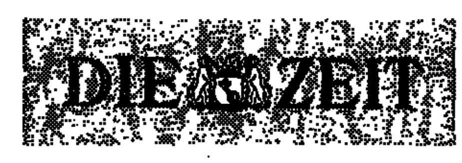
Herr Matthöfer knows more about economics, finance and social affairs than his predecessor. He thinks and argues along broader lines than did Hans Apel.

As Finance Minister, he could gain more stature than his predecessor — even though he lacks Apel's boyish charm.

But whether this will make much difference in practice is another question. Certainly the new Finance Minister stands out among his Cabinet colleagues. He has his hands on the money and the power to approve or reject allocations. But even so, his scope in distinguishing himself from his predecessors and competitors is small.

Hans Matthöfen is characterised by his penchant for public investments that could enliven the economy while costing the state nothing, because their boost to private business and consumers would provide the return additional tax revenues.

This penchant was considerably less developed in Herr Apel. Yet during his term the share of investments by the public sector (going down over previous decades) went up temporarily. Matthöfer's financial plan, despite all resolu-



tions to the contrary, points downward again.

But blueprints can be changed — and financial plans in particular have rarely been taken seriously in fixing concrete budgets.

Matthöfer seems to be pinning his hopes on this chance of still being able to implement more than other Finance Ministers.

It is not coincidental that, at the start of his term, he went into the problem of public investments. These have certainly not diminished since the four-year DM16,000 million infrastructure programme was dug out of ministerial drawers with plans ready to be implemented and now in action (unless stuck in the mills of bureaucracy) and even reflected in the order books.

The new Minister is now looking for further investment possibilities. He is keeping informed without always paying attention to maximum limits on spending. Such a maximum would be the total of next year's budget, which envisages only six per cent more spending than in 1978.

But Matthöfer does not have the ambition to stick to this six per cent mark. Another limit is the maximum new indebtedness for next year. According to the present blueprint, this is DM27,000 million. But it would not cause him sleepless nights if he had to borrow DM30,000 million or even more to invest more.

He does not share the concern of Franz-Josef Strauss over state investment.

Strauss considers our state finances in disarray. He holds that the Bonn government's careless financial policy is to blame for the weak economy.

Matthöfer sees things in a different light: because the economy needs new technologies, modern production methods and larger markets to compete internationally and provide employment, it must be assisted by the state.

This being so, it takes no great insight to guess which of his colleagues will be favoured when it comes to funds. It is clearly the present Minister of Research.

Volker Hauff would not have to twist Matthöfer's arm to get money to promote new communications technologies to enable German business to make large sums both at home and abroad.

The same applies to exportable desalination plants and a dense network of methanol filling stations. Herr Matthöfer considers the promotion of such projects a major objective of finance policy.

If he alone had the say, the spending would not have to inflate the budget because he has a pretty shrewd idea where to cut expenditure. One item is savings promotion, which has always irked him.

He cannot see why we should promote savings when our citizens save too much anyway. For him there are more important things on which to spend money.

But all this would not be worth mentioning if Matthöfer did not specifically call himself a "left socialist."

One does not have to be a leftist to call for more state investment and to condemn excessive state consumption, including savings promotion.

What, then, is so "left socialist" about Matthöfer?

He is unwilling to give a detailed answer. It can therefore only be surmised that he feels that, through purpose-oriented promotion, the state would eventually gain more influence over business decisions — the more so the more it wishes to control the success of its promotion programmes.

The state would thus increasingly become a super-entrepreneur.

But this would presuppose — presumably in keeping with his ideas — that it adopts the attitudes of an entrepreneur, orientating itself not by the extent of expenditure but by its origins. This would include thriftiness and not spending all income.

Some of these considerations might have played a part when Matthöfer agreed with the recently publicised proposals by the prestigeous German Institute for Economic Research (DIW), Berlin, that the state invest an additional


Finance Minister Hans Matthöfer: thinker in broad terms (Photo: Sven Simon)

DM130,000 million during the next decade to strengthen the economy.

His liberal opponent, Economic Affairs Minister Otto Graf Lambsdorff, who is certainly not opposed to a prosperous economy, contradicted him, mincing no words.

This is an indication that Herr Lambsdorff understands what Matthöfer's strategy is. But on the other hand, some members of the SPD left also mistrust Matthöfer, saying that, while he calls himself a left socialist, his finance policy is that of Anglo-Saxon liberals.

Others say that he presents himself to critics of nuclear power stations as a man willing to compromise and mediate (as he did two years ago); but in reality he has always favoured nuclear power.

Others say that, while he called the Pinochet regime in Chile a gang of murderers — a statement made while still state secretary in the development aid ministry — he only did so because he knew that his statement had no official status.

These objections perhaps only reflect the mistrust of the leftists towards their own. And yet they might be right.

If so, Hans Matthöfer would be the protagonist of a finance policy which we should have had ten years ago — without apprehensively raising the question as to the secret dastardliness of his motives.

Dieter Piel
(Die Zeit, 9 June 1978)

Finance heads urge stable money system

The Finance Ministers of the German-speaking countries (Germany, Austria and Switzerland) ended their two-day meeting in Salzburg, Austria, on 11 June with an appeal for the stability of the international monetary system to be restored.

A communiqué says the industrial countries must agree on joint strategies at the ministerial conference of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) in Paris this month.

According to the three Finance Ministers, Hannes Androsch, George-André Chevallaz and Hans Matthöfer, the economic summit of the seven most important Western industrial nations in Bonn in July will be an important forum for renewing confidence in the monetary system.

Bonn Finance Minister Hans Matthöfer promised his opposite numbers to safeguard their interests at the summit, to be attended by the Federal Republic, the United States, Canada, Japan, France, Britain and Italy.

"By pursuing our interests in Bonn concerning stability, employment, etc., we shall also safeguard Austrian and Swiss interests which coincide with our own," he said.

There were no major problems between the three neighbouring countries.

He advocated a determined and constructive stability policy, saying Germany's inflation rate of 2.7 per cent was good compared with other countries.

He also expressed concern about the number of jobless. Full employment should have top priority for a country as dependent on exports as Germany. This problem had to be tackled now because economic stability was of paramount importance.

Since Austria and Switzerland were equally interested in stability, interests coincided.

Herr Matthöfer also expressed concern over the long-term effects of the dollar slump. He hoped that the dollar would soon reflect its true international buying power.

Swiss Finance Minister Chevallaz, asked whether Switzerland wanted to join the European Monetary Union (the Snake), said his country was prepared to cooperate but the Snake alone was no solution.

It was necessary to create framework conditions that would impose a certain degree of economic discipline on all members.

Chevallaz indicated that he did not think much of the OECD proposal that the economy be boosted through budgetary measures.

Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 12 June 1978)

■ **ROAD SAFETY**

Traffic club tries to cut 1,400 child road deaths

More children are killed and injured on West German roads than in any comparable countries in the world.

Children are involved in 67,000 road accidents a year, 23,000 are seriously injured and 1,400 killed. So much for the German way of life.

Fortunately a number of road safety organisations are anxious to do something. The latest is the Children's Traffic Club, set up in Bonn by the Mercedes Foundation.

It has been a section of the Road Safety Association since November 1976, the association being one of 250 members of the Road Safety Council.

Road safety can only be promoted effectively when cash is available. Daimler-Benz, who have long enjoyed a deserved reputation for safety engineering, realised that vehicle safety was not enough.

People, especially children, must learn how to become safe road-users.

The aim is for parents of children between three and seven to join the local Children's Traffic Club. With their pre-school children, they then learn how to cope with traffic, how to spot dangerous situations and take preventive action in good time.

Daimer-Benz plan to maintain a "long-term, lasting" relationship with the club. There is no question of sponsorship merely being a PR device.

Since road safety calls for a flexible, defensive approach to motoring by adult drivers, Daimler-Benz are to give the children's campaign free publicity at its service centres and Mercedes dealers.

An appeal will be made to the motoring skills and sense of responsiblity of the men and women at the wheel, with Mercedes facilities being placed at the club's disposal for giving children and parents road safety lessons.

Three times as many children are killed or injured on German roads as in Italy, where motorists have a reputation for driving fast and recklessly.

The ratio is the same in Britain, and there is little to choose between the three in population.



Children find out road safety can be fun at the opening of the Children's Traffic Club in Bonn, a new road safety project sponsored by the Mercedes Foundation. Looking on are (from left): Daimler-Benz director Heinz Schmidt and Felix Mottl and Dr Günter Wind of the Road Safety Association. (Photo: dpa)

France, the United States and Holland come next, with only half as many accidents to children as in this country. Neighbouring Switzerland, Austria and Belgium also have better records than the Federal Republic.

How do accidents occur? Four times out of five as a result of children running into the road without heeding traffic.

The next most frequent cause is the child who darts out from between parked cars, leaving motorists on the move with no time to take evasive action.

Campaigns such as those envisaged by the Children's Traffic Club stand little chance of improving accident statistics unless motorists play the game.

No-one would deny that many accidents could be averted if motorists were to drive just a little more slowly in built-up areas. But there is no question of lower speed limits yet.

At the ceremony in Bonn to mark the Mercedes Foundation's sponsorship of the Children's Traffic Club, it was said that the way a country copes with traffic accidents involving children is a very revealing statistic.

Five- to seven-year-olds are certainly the most at risk. Most accidents happen at play, between home and school, and generally close to home.

Children from large families and families lower down the social scale are more accident-prone, probably because they tend to live in areas with heavy traffic and few playgrounds.

But children's traffic clubs can do good work. A survey carried out by Oslo University shows that in Norway children who have learnt their highway code at traffic clubs are involved in 42.8 per cent fewer road accidents than non-members.

F. Gert Pohle

(Die Welt, 6 June 1978)

Car industry must help pedestrians

Nearly every other household now owns a car, yet road deaths in West Germany fell by 23 per cent between 1970 and 1975, while the number of cars registered increased by 27 per cent.

Road accidents in which drivers, passengers and other road-users are injured are also dropping. In 1953 there were 57.5 crashes per 1,000 motor vehicles which meant more than a little panel-beating. By 1976 the number had declined to 13.6 per thousand.

Traffic accidents in built-up areas have lessened markedly but for years the numbers of pedestrians killed or injured has remained fairly constant.

Pedestrian accident statistics are alarming: on average 50 per cent of road deaths in urban areas are pedestrians. Children and old people run above-average road safety risks.

The only solution is for motorists to drive responsibly. Everyone who drives must bear this in mind. The Swiss probably put it most succinctly with their appeal on bill hoardings to "take care of others."

Ideally, pedestrians ought to be able to keep to themselves in traffic-free precincts, but apart from the occasional experiment this is wishful thinking.

It is as unrealistic as 100-per-cent road safety, which can only be achieved by banning traffic altogether.

No-one would seriously suggest that road transport be abolished, but the fact remains that traffic is a danger to life and limb.

Sixty thousand children a year are killed and maimed between home and school, according to a survey by the Federal Road Transport Institute, Cologne.

Statistically, one child is killed on the roads every six hours and another injured every eight minutes.

Motorists are not entirely to blame. Pedestrians, too, show a lack of road sense. Even adults are frequently unable to estimate speeds and distances and are accustomed to disregarding the highway code.

Weaker road-users cannot be adequately protected. Motorcyclists and pedestrians do not have concertina zones to absorb impacts.

If the fronts of cars were redesigned, pedestrians might stand a more sporting chance. But safety trials of car bodywork have seldom paid much attention to the pedestrian.

Crash trials are nothing new, of course. Cars are driven at each other and against brick walls, concrete posts and crash barriers. But the steering column is usually the centre of attention.

True enough, rigid steering columns have been impaling drivers at the wheel for decades. Reinforced roofs and doors and locks are doubtless good ideas, too. But what about the hapless pedestrian? He invariably comes off worst.

Experiments using dummies show only that simulating human accident patterns is difficult.

When a pedestrian is knocked off his feet from behind, he flies head over heels and usually sustains serious injuries while leaving a nasty mark on the windscreen.

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■ **ENERGY**

Battery breakthrough brings electric car near reality

Hannoversche Allgemeine

By 1985 we should know whether the battery-powered car stands a chance. Seven years from now at the latest a new generation of batteries should be available.

BBC's Heidelberg research division reckon the new battery will weigh much less and be far more powerful and less expensive than the present lead battery.

Experimental electric car prototypes still have to carry about a ton of batteries and are restricted to a radius of 35 to 40 miles. Then the lead batteries need either recharging or replacing.

The new-look 1985 battery will weigh only half as much yet enable the electric car to cover up to 80 miles.

This increased range could make the difference between breakthrough and oblivion. But engineers and technicians will not be the ones to decide whether the electric car is to be a serious competitor to internal combustion.

The motor industry, the oil industry and, of course, the motorist and car-buyer will have a word or two to say on the subject. Legislation also promote or discourage developments.

The powerhouse of the new battery will be an aluminium oxide container about eight inches tall. It is filled with liquid sodium and molten sulphur.

The liquid sodium and molten sulphur take over the role of lead, or lead oxide, in the conventional battery, with sulphuric acid being replaced by a solid electrolyte, the aluminium oxide container.

Otherwise the new-look battery will not, in fact, look much different from its present-day predecessor. It will be recharged in the usual way and generate about two volts per cell.

When the temperature reaches about 300 centigrade, the aluminium container will admit sodium ions.

Tapping of power from the battery sends the (positive) sodium ions into the molten sulphur where they meet up with sulphur ions and end up as sodium polysulphides, which are liquid at 300 degrees centigrade.

When the battery is recharged the sodium ions return to their previous location, being able to cross the border an aluminium oxide valve, at any point.

This process is known as ion super conduction and requires operating temperatures of 300 centigrade or so, but this is no drawback. Use can be made of the process heat.

By means of a few technological subterfuges the temperature can be maintained within a range of 285 and 350 degrees, but we shall not know until the 80s whether the new battery proves popular.

Will such high temperatures be acceptable? Dr. W. Fischer of Heidelberg, unveiling the sodium sulphur battery at BBC's Dättwil, Switzerland, research centre, did not see why not.

At room temperature there is not a battery to equal the new design for either energy or performance. But, Dr Fischer added, much would depend on the aluminium container.

It is made of polycrystalline, ceramic material and is sintered from aluminium oxide powder in accordance with a special technique at temperatures just below melting point.

This technique has been specially developed by BBC to ensure an adequate lifespan for the battery. It should prove rechargeable at least 2,000 times.

Special attention has been paid to operational safety. What, for instance, happens if the aluminium oxide container breaks?

Liquid sodium and molten sulphur would then mix. Dr Fischer claims that solid sodium sulphide would form immediately at the point of contact.

The sodium would also be kept in check by a metal retainer device, so the chemical reaction would be limited to a small area.

Even if sodium and sulphur were to join forces and spring a leak they would be retained by the insulation provided to ensure that temperatures do not fall below the 285-mark.

There are also sound economic reasons why the new battery might result in a breakthrough for the electric car.

It would first be used to power delivery vans, which would cost more to buy than conventionallyy-powered models.

But running costs would quickly tilt in the electric car's favour once the sodium sulphur battery is mass-produced.

Konrad Müller-Christiansen

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 7 June 1978)



The Solarmobile: protection from the rain, power from the sun (Photo: dpa)

Now a place in the sun for the pedicab...

The Solarmobile, a pedicab powered by solar energy, has just been unveiled in Sasbach, a Black Forest village near Freiburg.

It looks like a cycle rickshaw, seating two on a seat under by a solar-cell sun roof, but without the saddle usually occupied by the rickshaw driver.

The solar cells power a three-phase current electric motor which enables the Solarmobile to reach speeds of up to six km/h, or nearly four mph.

The rooftop solar collectors cover a surface area of exactly one square metre and generate 150 watts, or 0.2 horsepower.

The prototype, said to be worth about DM12,000, was designed and built by members of Baden-Württemberg nature and environmental conservancy association, which held its third solar energy exhibition in Sasbach.

The Solarmobile was not only on show, from 8 to 11 June, but could also be ridden and started — provided the sun shone.

Four miles an hour may not seem much but it is enough to overtake most pedestrians sooner or later.

Fifty domestic and foreign exhibitors displayed solar water heaters and power generators and methane and windpowered energy units and accessories.

The organisers cliamed it was the first time in the Federal Republic that nearly all exhibitors at a show of this kind had prototypes of their equipment on exhibition.

dpa

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 5 June 1978)

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When a pedestrian is knocked sideways in a flat spin or catapulted against the nearest piece of street furniture he is sure to be injured. How seriously depends on a variety of factors, such as the speed of the vehicle and the distance to the obstacle.

We may live to see the car of the future equipped with flexible front and rear ends including foam rubber bumpers which deform on impact, afterwards regaining their original shape.

Plastic fascia of this kind are known in the United States as "soft faces." Calspan, with assistance from Chrysler, have developed a research safety vehicle with a front section made of plastic and designed with pedestrians in mind.

Another US research project aimed at improving the pedestrian's survival prospects is a safety prototype with a rear-mounted engine designed by Minicars of California.

The front section can be replaced as a complete unit and does not injure at collision speeds of up to ten mph. It is also claimed to withstand a head-on collision at 55mph.

The dangers pedestrians face in traffic was the chief topic at the last annual conference of the motor vehicle engineering section of the Association of German Engineers (VDI).

Mention was made of soft face front sections but there was also a clash of demands. Whose safety is to get priority? The driver and passenger or pedestrian?

Car designers must certainly design vehicles that are less lethal, without sharp edges and corners. Headlights must be recessed, wing mirrors must yield, bonnets must be flat. These changes alone would be a marked improvement.

Eberhard Seifert

(Deutsche Zeitung, 9 June 1978)

■ ART

Germans now buying art by the yard

Many people who buy reproductions of paintings these days want them to match the furniture and colour schemes of their living rooms. They regard art as having a purely decorative function.

I was told of a customer in the Galerie Commeter in Hamburg who took a piece of material out of her pocket and explained that it was the colour of her curtains. Then she described the bookcases and furniture suite and said: "We want a picture to match. Something with a landscape on it." The man at her side nodded assent.

The couple is one of many who choose their paintings on these criteria.

Rich people can afford to furnish a room to match a painting. The vast majority choose a painting to match the room. But even this is a sign of "higher living culture."

Referring to the introduction of new reproduction techniques in 1874, the *Gartenlaube* wrote: "Now the luxury of the rich is made accessible to a mass public."

A hundred years later, the art market is booming thanks to these techniques. The "art wave" came in with the affluent society. Never before have there been so many people who call themselves artists and never has the range of what is described as art been wider. Cheap reproductions can be had for as little as DM5 and unsigned drawings by Chagall and Miro from DM60 upwards.

Taste has changed little in the past years. The *Gartenlaube* wrote that paintings should be "beautiful and edifying". This is what people still want today. Only opinions on what constitutes the beautiful and the edifying have changed.

During the 1950s there was a big demand for works which the Nazis had banned and described as "degenerate". In the 1960s pop and graphic art dominated the market.

At present there is a demand for a number of styles:

- Old masters, often series such as The Four Seasons by the Dutch painter Momper.
- Pre-Raphaelite work from Beardsley to descendants such as Sulamid Wülfing.
- Classical 20th century painters such as Picasso, Chagall, Miro, Magritte, Gustav Klimt.
- Drawings numbered and signed by the artists. This means the customer has a guarantee that it is original. Marili Nöfer, who runs the Graphic Arts section of the magazine *Schöner Wohnen*, says the trend is towards "the conservative and the familiar."




Popular art: poster of *The Poor Poet*, by Spitzweg, is the German best-seller at 100,000 copies.
(Photo: Bildarchiv Foto Marburg)

The Galerie Commeter in Hamburg sells 10,000 works a year and has one of the largest turnovers in the country. Purchasing patterns here confirm Marile Nöfer's view. The work of Englishwoman Kathleen Caddeck is the best seller at the moment. Her motif is trees left, rights and centre. Her drawings cost from DM300 to DM 400.

Then come the works of the evergreen moderns Hundertwasser, Friedländer and Janssen. The Galerie Schöninger in Munich has a similar tale to tell. Chagall, Miro, Braque and Friedländer top their lists. They sell for between DM5000 and DM15000.

So much for the galleries, whose existence is now threatened by the growth of art sales in the big stores, now taking an ever-larger slice of the market.

Michael Siebrasse, head of the Deutsche Galerie Verband, says 95 per cent of all paintings are sold in big stores or by mail order firms.

The Verband Deutscher Gemälde *Grosshändler* (the association of painting wholesalers) estimates that the annual turnover of the big stores in paintings is about DM125 million.

Paintings sales are included with sales of furnitures and in other departments.

Hans-Heinrich Campen, press spokesman for Kaufhof, one of the biggest department stores, says paintings are important pieces of furniture, a view confirmed by Ernst Heusel, chief buyer of art works and gifts, who says: "People buy art just like they buy a tie to go with a suit or a scarf to go with a dress."

We can tell from the department stores' sales figures that the German idea of what is beautiful and edifying has changed over the years. Fifteen years ago, the equivalent of the Monarch of the Glen, the lachrymose monk and the Zugstitze overlooking the Eibsee accounted for 90 per cent of all sales.

Today, 30 per cent of Kaufhof's sales are naturalistic oil paintings (landscapes, portraits, animals, still life), 5 per cent are abstract oil paintings, 20 per cent are reproductions of old and modern masters, 10 per cent are drawings and 10 per cent are metal reliefs of copper and tin.

Kaufhof have sold three million framed pictures since 1970. The range of styles is from classicism to constructivism, the prices range from DM30 (naive paintings in small format) to DM550 for a numbered, hand-signed Vasarely in a limited edition of 200. Given that 1.5 million people a day go into these shops, it is hardly surprising that there is interest in art.

A year ago the famous German painter Joseph Beuys complained that "all the department stores do is to ruin people's taste."

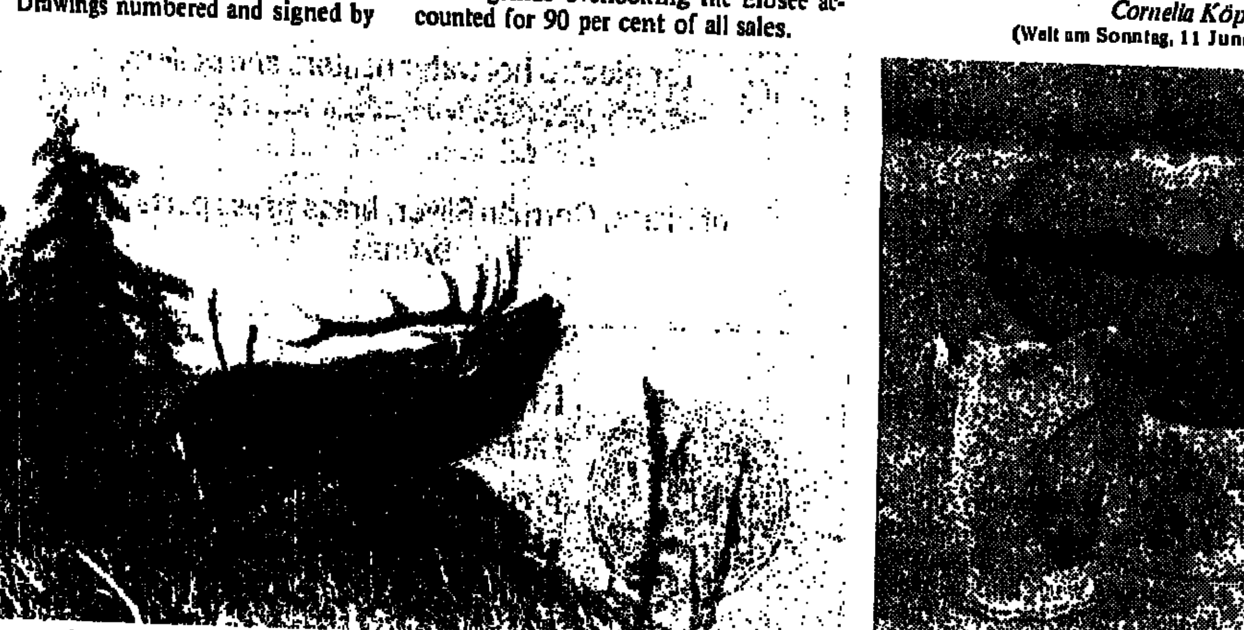
Since then, other experts have taken a more lenient view. Gallery owner von Wentzel says: "Many people would never buy pictures at all if it were not for the big department stores."

On the other hand, not all the Germans who buy art in department stores actually buy paintings. Many get no further than posters.

The poster is the most recent and most succesful piece of mass art. The Dutch firm Verkerke, the biggest poster company in the world, produces 24 million cheap posters a year costing from DM11.90 to DM13.90. Their best customer is West Germany.

What the Germans buy in posters perhaps tells us more about German culture than whole volumes of statistics. The two best-selling ones were, "The Poor Poet", by Spitzweg and a photo of a chimpanzee in a red jacket sitting on the toilet reading *The Times*. Almost 100,000 copies of each were sold.

Cornelia Köppen
(Welt am Sonntag, 11 June 1978)



German equivalent of the *Monarch of the Glen:* once paintings like this accounted for 90 per cent of art sales.
(Photo: Archiv für Kunst und Geschichte Berlin)

Travellers' kitsch has its moment

The German Folk Museum in Berlin is ow holding an exhibition of travel souvenirs, interest in which has grown steadily over the years.

At first, art critics of all kinds wrote patronising articles on amusing and ridiculous travel souvenirs. Then designers, professional improvers of form and taste, came simpering along with colourful picture postcards and other knickknacks in the hope that their own bare and dry forms would benefit from the contrast.

Only a few years ago, the Monarch of the Glen, garden gnomes and lachrymose monks were included in the prestigious Kassel "documenta" exhibition as examples of trivial art and trivial realism, moving style-conscious critics to highly complex ironies.

The exhibition is small, neat and well set out. It has its own character. Many of the objects on show here could be found in jumble sales, though not as carefully and pedantically arranged as here. Here we even find the little glass balls with drifting snow, ships in bottles, touching pilgrims' souvenirs and boy scout pennants.

These things are all available from any shop but they are no doubt exhibited here for the sake of completeness. The museums folklorists explain that in the mountainous regions of the south, souvenirs tend to be carved out of wood. Whereas in the north, near the sea, shells predominate. An interesting co-

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Souvenir of Hamburg



Travel souvenirs: are they a neglected form of folk art?
(Photos: Museum für Deutsche Volkskunde)

■ PERFORMING ARTS

German pop music makes international debut

German-based and managed pop groups such as Boney M and Baccara have recently hit the top of European and international hit parades, as phenomenal success after years in which the German pop music industry was in the doldrums.

Boney M., a group of four coloured musicians, three British and one Dutch, have just pulled off another spectacular coup. Advance orders for their record *Night Flight to Venus* in West Germany came to over 400,000 — and that before a single record had been produced.

Boney M, who live in Berlin and have their records produced in Saarbrücken, are without doubt Europe's number one pop group. They have produced records such as *Sunny, Daddy Cool* and *Ma Baker*, which have topped continental and British charts.

In this country alone, 1.2 million copies of their latest number, *By the Rivers of Babylon*, a slick piece of sweet soul music, have been sold. They were recently awarded a platinum disc for it.

Boney M's records are produced by Frank Farian for Meisel in Berlin on the Hansa label. In the last two years, 25 million copies have been sold, pushing British bands as well as groups like Abba off the top of the charts.

The German-based group Baccara, a female duo of former flamenco dancers, has had almost equal success in its short career. Their biggest hits so far have been *Yes, Sir, I can Boogie* and *Parlez-vous francais*. Baccara's records are produced by the Hamburg trio of Rolf Soja, Frank Dostal and Peter Zentner.

In previous years, German songwriters, managers and musicians found it hard to break through the international sound barrier and succeed outside this country. Les Humphries with his international choir was the first to have the idea of using exotic and coloured singers in his group. His success proved too much for him, but the idea was taken up successfully by others.

Michael Kunze and Silvester Levay, two versatile fellows from Munich, had the idea of creating a synthetic pop group called Silver Convention, and its record *Fly Robin Fly* was a big hit a few years ago, even on the American market.

Germany is the second biggest sales market for music in the world. For many years it had the reputation of being a province in terms of pop music, producing little of note and buying British and American records by the million.



Helping the German pop industry take off: Baccara, the girls who were once flamenco dancers, have had two international hits.
(Photo: dpa)

Now this has changed. The repertoire of German music and its share of the market has increased tenfold in the past five years. Thanks to Boney M, Baccara, James Last and Silver Convention, sales have increased five thousand per cent.

The problem is that there are still too many unnecessary obstacles in the way of further success for the German pop music industry:

- The state decides who gets work permits and this severely limits the scope of free management.
- German radio and television are public corporations and have a monopoly. Pop music only gets a certain amount of air time.
- The big record and cassette firms try to bind music publishers and producers to them.
- The official cultural establishment is ignorant of entertainment and pop music and the record industry itself has difficulties putting over a good image.

Sad to say, music journalists must take part of the blame for this sorry situation. Instead of pleading the case for pop and entertainment, they tend to conform to the prejudices of the official cultural establishment.

Individualism and fresh ideas are needed. Music publishers should not have too close ties with management, and distributors should be told that by binding free publishers to their distribution apparatus they are encouraging a monpoly trend bad for the competitiveness of the market.

The German record industry is in an excellent position to compete internationally. The quality and high sales of German records can be attributed to three factors:

- Stylistically, our groups and singers have reached a international standards.
- The beat generation has now grown up and has a lot of purchasing power.
- Small publishers, producers and managers have shown remarkable talent and acumen in adapting to new musical trends.

Reginald Rudorf
(Die Welt, 12 June 1978)

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parative perspective. Folklorists describe such differences in their own terminology as "regionally specific."

The exhibition also shows mass-produced glass and pottery articles different place names, reminding people of their happy holidays.

No doubt people in the trade would describe this form of deception as "rationalisation for the purpose of profit miximisation."

The souvenir researchers come up with the momentous insight that certain cities are figures or places in strongly associated in people's minds with legends, fairy tales, songs or the glorious past.

Plaster and plastic water carriers re- (the ale-quaffing friar) Munich the town musicians Bremen, the Berlin Bear and the television tower for Berlin. These figures on ashtrays, beermugs, scarves and handkerchiefs are, in scientific parlance, locally specific. Whatever souvenir sellers get up to, souvenir experts remain alertly and vigilantly on their tracks, always ready with a neat classification.

Sad to say, it was court and bourgeois circles who set the souvenir ball rolling during the 18th century. They brought back mementoes from their exclusive spas: ornately cut glass, goblets for mineral waters, souvenirs of happy hours of idleness for sideboards and bookcases.

Then came the railways and the lower cases started imitating their betters. The demand for souvenirs grew but the general level of taste dropped. A felt hat savings box, made of plaster but deceptively like a woodcarving and sold as pottery, is typical of the futile and senseless creations of an industry that blithely goes on producing inane kitsch.

The souvenir industries in most countries seem to produce the same kind of wares, with the result that you can travel all over the globe but the souvenirs always seem to be the same. Only the names on the souvenirs differ.

The German Folk Museum also has an exhibition of documents on "The Image of the Peasant." The exhibition is, so to speak, the side product of work on a book. The texts present us with views of the peasant ranging from glorification to denigration and contrast these with the reality of their social situation from the 16th century onwards.

Large texts play a more important part in this show than picture reproductions, providing excerpts and a preview of the documentary work to be published.

Werner Langer
(Der Tagesspiegel, 9 June 1978)

Prix Jeunesse festival improves yet again

Münchner Merkur

The Prix Jeunesse International festival in Munich was a marathon. Gardeners watered the lawns outside the Bavarian broadcasting studios to prevent the exhausted judges from flaking out on them during a hot spell.

There were certainly good reasons for wanting to get out of the two cinemas into the sunshine. Length in the children's film category had been increased from an hour to 75 minutes, which meant that with 74 entries it was impossible to keep up.

One possible solution, tried in the past, would be to split the juries into groups judging children's programmes and pre-school programmes. This would give them more time to discuss entries.

There was more to discuss this year than in the past. Very few of the programmes were considered poor. Ernst Emrich, Prix Jeunesse general secretary, told the press that the quality of entries was undoubtedly getting better and much of the improvement was due to the work of Prix Jeunesse.

A comparison of prize winners since 1974 confirms this view: "There is an increasing preoccupation with social problems, moving towards a world which is conscious of problems." And: "There has been a shift from a sentimental to a realistic view of the child."

This development was also apparent to the observer. Television programmes in other countries are coming up to European and American standards. The few developing countries who tried to go their own way were not very convincing, receiving only one one award, a special prize for Pakistan.

In the 'pre-school' categories, the awards went to a cartoon-pantomime from Sweden where you had to guess what was making noises and the series *Neues aus Uhlenbusch*, highly rated in West Germany.

In the children's programmes category, the award went to a Czechoslovakian tale of three clowns disguised as beetles who climb out of a matchbox and have adventures with everyday objects.

This was basically a good idea but it lasted too long and was simply too childish in places. It was the third last film and this was fortunate — up to then the judges had had little to laugh about.

There was no prize given for young people's films. No doubt this can be regarded are gesture by the experts, because a film on the problems of puberty by the BBC and a musical about the handicapped from Oslo were worthy of awards.

The main discussion over the nine days of the festival was: is there any point in special films for young people over 15? The answer is certainly yes for programmes such as *Ohne Maulkorb* (Unmuzzled) by the ORF, a programme on jobs, leisure centres and singers. Most of the entries either aimed too high or too low. Whereupon the category dissolved into thin air. The Swedes, for example, have already stopped producing films for this category.

Rudolf Herfurtner
(Münchner Merkur, 5 June 1978)

■ EDUCATION

Foreign criticism worries German academic heads

DER TAGESSPIEGEL

It was a common view abroad that left extremist students suppressed discussion in some universities and that politics took precedence over academic qualifications in staff selection, the annual meeting of West German university rectors has been told.

The theme of the meeting was "The German university in the light of criticism from abroad."

In a report last year on the situation of German universities, the international Council on the Future of the University expressed concern that pressure from left extremists students made free discussion impossible, and that the new university laws, following the committee principle, promoted politicising of the universities and, in some instances, led to appointments where political considerations outweighed qualifications.

The report says the possibility of non-qualified people outvoting professors is a characteristic of collective decision-making and jeopardises the standard of performance.

This criticism from a conservative vantage point, says the Freedom and Science Confederation, the conservative academic staff organisation which cooperates closely with the council, seems to be the dominating view abroad.

At the annual meeting of West German University rectors a more lucid picture emerged.

The conference concluded that it would be surprising if the view was not held. Foreign critics did not one-sidedly direct their censure against leftist elements in a time dominated by the Extremists Act, "career bans" and campaigns against intellectuals deemed possible sympathisers with terrorism.

Even a rather more conservative professor like Columbia University's historian Fritz Stern pointed to this, saying: "Egalitarianism, be it from above or from below, from right or left, is unacceptable ... the university's only justification is to be a model of freedom and rational discussion."

This tenet has been generally recognised.

From his European vantage point, Professor Vossers of Holland criticised German universities. "A climate of resentment and refusal to engage in a discourse is no favourable basis. Are such conditions created by legislation, regulations and delving into loyalty to the constitution?"

Professor Bravo of Turin University put it even more succinctly: "I would only like to add that the whole issue of so-called career bans has darkened the image of Germany abroad and has given rise to growing doubts concerning democracy in Germany in the public opinion of other Western countries."

"The Extremists Act," he said, "foisted politicisation on German universities."

The conference concluded that for the majority of foreign observers the intellectual situation of Germany was characterised by an irrational reaction against political and ideological pressure to toe the line and against the general ideological disciplining of any kind of democratic and dialectic activity.

As a result, young people were marked by resignation, withdrawal and passive adaptation. This attitude, the conference was told, was promoted by the establishment and the mass media.

The formerly much-discussed question whether the democratisation of German universities had gone too far seems to have lost its importance for foreign critics.

German and foreign professors agreed that parliamentary democracy could not be applied to universities because institutions of higher learning had special tasks in training, research and services, as in, for instance, the care of the sick.

The work group which said this recommended that the matter be viewed dispassionately. There was a consensus that "the general discontent in and about our universities is not due to their democratisation but exists independent of it."

"Continued discussion about democratisation is exaggerated and falls short of the mark of the actual problems plaguing our universities," the work group said.

This is a perfectly realistic conclusion considering that countries such as Holland have for years been testing much more radical co-determination models than in the Federal Republic of Germany, with general one-third parities, whereas in this country the University Framework Act again provides professors with an absolute majority in the major committees.

What are, from an international vantage point, the problems of universities? Essentially, they are the same as in the Federal Republic.

- The transformation from an elite university in keeping with Humboldt's idea of taking in five per cent of any school-leaving year to a mass university taking 20 to 30 per cent;
- The rapid expansion towards a mass university, not only as far as students but also as far as the staff is concerned — a process in which not enough attention is paid to quality;
- How are the majority of students who want to prepare themselves for careers to be assisted to finish their studies within a shorter time, while the university also gives those students who want to do research and promote a new generation of academics the chance to do so?
- Is it possible to motivate students to study despite the fact that they will frequently face the problem of later unemployment?
- How is it possible to adhere to the unity of research and teaching, as stipulated by Humboldt, in the face of recession and inflation, with dwindling funds and the fact that, due to rapid expansion, not all university professors are equally qualified to do research but are only suited for teaching?
- How can the weakened public reputation of universities be improved; how can scientists be rescued from resignation and the burdens of bureaucracy?

Fritz Stern spoke of an international crisis in universities, using Germany as an example.

German universities, he said, used to be something like a secular shrine. This untouchable status was shaken by an assault through reform. "The university is still waiting for a sort of counter-reformation in which a new introspection and discipline will impart a new spirit to old functions."

But views differ as to how the new university should look.

The director of the educational institute of the European Cultural Foundation in Paris, Dr Cerych, told the rectors that, taking into account the necessary combination of short-term and long-term study courses and the relationship between theory and practice-oriented training at universities, many foreign colleagues admired the way the Federal Republic developed the concept of a comprehensive university in the late 60s.

Dr Cerych referred to it as "one of the most interesting German contributions towards a university reform in Europe." He asked why the idea had been either watered down or abandoned today.

Other professors, among them Professor Stern, expressed their doubts about the idea.

The essence of the malaise can be summed up as: the majority of German professors know that Humboldt's university which conducted a pure search for truth without regard for career preparation is dead. But the longing for a researcher's free and lonely life remains.

The annual meeting of West German rectors shows that it is easier to describe the problems and reach consensus than to find ways of solving them.

Uwe Schlicht

(Der Tagesspiegel, 4 June 1978)

Seminars on school stir up ideas

If parents feel that they must reward their children's school marks with money, why not in reserve: one mark for a "one" (the highest mark) and six marks for a "six" (the lowest)?

This is a provocative idea from the North Rhine-Westphalia Ministry of Education's elementary school seminars.

Education Minister Jürgen Girgensohn has long been bothered by parent-teacher meetings concerning themselves virtually only with formalities while disregarding practical child-rearing problems.

It is the questions that really worry millions of parents which these seminars want to deal with.

What are parents to do when their children cannot concentrate, when they dilly-dally with their homework? How are they to react to bad marks?

"We have no patent remedies because every child and every situation is different. But we want to provide thought impulses and encourage teachers and parents to seek solutions jointly," says Herr Girgensohn.

An experiment with seven seminars (four evenings of two hours each) having been successful, representatives of all of North Rhine-Westphalia's 3,555 elementary schools will be invited to another 32 seminars.

The participants are expected to pass on the insights gained.

The seminars will centre on concrete cases, the most pressing problem being the daily trouble over homework.

Hans is lazy over his homework, and his mother reprimands him: "You lazybones, you'll end up in a school for retarded children."

This attitude is wrong. Firstly, because this hurts the child's feelings and discourages him. Secondly, because children make a point of doing what annoys their parents.

If parents show that an attitude irritates them, they invite a repeat performance.

Mother helps with the homework: but to teach him to work independently, she leaves him alone for a while, busying herself with chores. On her return, she finds that Hans has fed his fish and counted the cars in the street and has not touched his homework.

Punishment would be wrong here. The right attitude is to say to him: "Now that you have rested, let's get on with it."

The seminar is adamantly opposed to

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The Theodor Heuss Academy in Hummersbach has become a clearing house for Canadian-German relations.

Academy works to promote Canada studies

Now in its third year, it holds functions such as colloquiums for academics, seminars for exchange students and political and cultural lectures for those interested in Canada, it provided impulses for the establishment of a Society for Canadian Studies.

In conjunction with English, American and Romance studies, as well as geography, sociology, history and political science, these colloquiums have already provided the basis of specialised Canadian studies.

Strongholds of Canadian studies in Germany are the Universities of Berlin, Kiel and Marburg, all of which have specialised libraries.

The German-Canadian student exchange helps relations between the two countries.

Through the German-Canadian Society in Hanover, in cooperation with the Canadian Embassy in Bonn, some 2,400 Canadian students have visited Germany since 1964 and 950 German students visited Canada. This year's figures are 180 and 75.

The German students visit Canada from mid-July to mid-October and the Canadians stay in Germany from the end of May to the end of August.

The participants spend two months working in the host country, followed by a four-week tour paid for with the money saved.

While jobs are arranged, the students plan their own tours.

The cost for German students is DM750, including return fares and work permit.

Prerequisites for an exchange place in Canada are a successful beginning of studies at a German university, good knowledge of English or French and "an outgoing, adaptable personality."

Manfred Neuber

(Die Welt, 7 June 1978)

■ RESEARCH

Help for heart sufferers closer congress shows

Frankfurter Rundschau

Medical science is closer to finding a solution to the problem of arteriosclerosis, researchers at the recent Berlin international conference on research on arteriosclerosis and its relevance to general medicine made clear.

This could mean that heart attacks, infarcts and other circulatory and cardiac diseases need not in future be as fatal as they usually are now.

Experts listed the factors which can cause narrowing of the blood vessels and the calcification of the artery walls: high fat content in food, smoking, obesity, lack of exercirse and conditions such as high blood pressure and diabetes.

These were the causes of the near-epidemic of heart and circulatory diseases in recent years.

Professor Heiner Greten of the Heidelberg Institute for Heart Infarct Research said these diseases were the cause of nearly half of all deaths in industrial countries. The number of deaths caused by heart diseases had increased fivefold in West Germany from 1952 to 1975. If the trend continued there would be a million people a year suffering from heart diseases, of which half a million would have had recent infarcts.

Experts say the only way to prevent this is to change our way of life drastically and to use drugs to combat high blood pressure, diabetes and hyper lipidaemia (excessive fat content in the blood), factors which lead to arteriosclerosis.

Professor William E. Connor of the University of Oregon, Portland, pointed to the considerable success achieved with in- and out-patients suffering from arteriosclerosis by putting them on diets low on meat, sugar and fat.

Many Americans seem to be aware of the health risks of bad eating habits and have changed their ways. Statistics show that in the 12 years from 1963 to 1975 deaths from heart diseases dropped by 20 to 30 per cent, depending on age groups. In the same time, consumption per head of tobacco, milk, eggs and butter went down equally spectacularly — animal fats and oils by as much as 56.7 per cent. Vegetable oil and fat consumption rose by 44.1 per cent.

"One is inclined to deduce that the reduction in cardiovascular diseases in the USA is connected with these changes in consumption habits," Professor Greten said.

The increase in infarcts in West Germany was the same as the drop in the USA — 13 per cent. Germans were far too self-indulgent in their eating. "The intake of fat, cholesterol sugar and alcohol is at least twice as high as it should be," he said.

This all sounded as if the blood cholesterol level was the main cause of arteriosclerosis. It is common knowledge that infarct and heart attack patients have higher than average cholesterol levels.

More recently it has come to light that the consumption of vegetable oils reduces the cholesterol level. This led to the natural assumption, not yet confirmed by clinical experiments, that eating vegetable instead of animal fats gives a certain amount of protection against strokes and heart attacks.

On this point, new theories were introduced. Both Dr. Anthony Gotta of Houston Methodist Hospital and Dr. Daniel Steinberg of the University of San Diego in California said the composition of the fat particles in the veins was far more important than the fat level itself.

There were people with a too high blood fat content who were perfectly healthy in terms of heart and circulation. On the other hand, many people with perfectly normal cholesterol levels suffered from arteriosclerotic diseases.

The abbreviations HDL (high density lipoproteins) and LDL (low density lipoproteins) are the key to this theory. Blood normally contains both lipoproteins. A higher HDL level protects against heart and circulatory problems, whereas an excess of LDLs increases the risks of arteriosclerosis.

The prevailing theory, said Steinberg, was that the function of HDL was to take cholesterol out of the tissues and the blood vessels so that it could be secreted. This would mean HDLs prevented cholestrol being stored in the arteries and therefore prevented calcification. HDL levels among heart patients were lower than average.

At the moment there were few drugs which could raise the HDL level in the blood and provide artificial protection against arteriosclerosis. Oestrogens, the female sex hormones, and certain pesticides could do so. But this beneficial effect could only be achieved at the price of damage to the liver, Steinberg said.

Whatever methods are used to reduce the risks of arteriosclerosis (exercise, giving up smoking, lower consumption of fat, weight reduction, reduction of sugar content in the blood), the result is invariably an increase in HDL over LDL. This is probably what has cut the number of deaths caused by heart diseases and strokes since the Americans changed their way of life.

Dieter Dietrich

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 7 June 1978)

Experts probe energy saving for Europe

Seven experts from three leading European scientific magazines met Luxembourg recently to discuss the possibilities of saving energy in Europe, the first time scientific magazines in Europe have cooperated in this way.

The magazines represented were are *Umschau in Wissensdhaft und Technik* (Federal Republic of Germany), *La Recherche* (France) and *Endeavour* (Great Britain). Some of the contributions will be published in the Italian *Scienza e Tecnica* yearbook.

(Die Welt, 2 June 1978)

Continued from page 12

cash rewards. But if parent feels strongly about it, rewards should be carefully thought out. A reward for top marks can be useful.

"Performance cannot be improved in short order, and this being so, the general atmosphere should at least remain friendly. If a child gets a "one" he is so happy that he doesn't need a reward and if it gets a "five" he can at least rejoice in the DM5".

What matters is for the child to feel that parental sympathy does not depend on school performance. After all, the child is a person and not a calculator.

Another major problem is difficulty in concentrating. There are several possible remedies: the removal of distracting toys, blocking out street noise or turning off the radio. But on the other hand, if the radio helps a child work, one should not be too strict about it.

Most concentration problems are due to parental ways of foreign concentration such as hidings, a ban on television or criticism along the lines of: "You, fool, what have you got in your head?"

Punishment, the experts warn, creates blockages and fear. "Frequently students are only bad because of punishment."

Horst Zimmermann

(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 5 June 1978)

Smallpox riddle could bring virus cure

Research at Munich University on active materials which can mobilise the body's natural defence mechanismus could lead to the first anti-virus drug.

Children will continue to be given smallpox injections, even though the disease has almost died out, because it has become increasingly clear that smallpox injections give "unspecific" protection against viruses. The protection is described as unspecific because it has nothing to do with the germs or active materials in the vaccine.

The general preventive effect has been established in the case of several kinds of injection. It has been found that smallpox injections have an inhibiting effect on herpes infections such as shingles and on tumours.

Injections against intestinal viruses also help against influenza. Diphtheria and tetanus injections have the same effect. The anti-tuberculosis vaccine BCG has a preventive effect on a whole range of viruses, such as herpes viruses, salmonellae and various tumours.

There are also signs that if newborn babies are given BCGs this reduces the frequency of leucaemia. But these preventive and protective effects only last a short time.

Professor Mayr of the Munich University Institute of Medical Microbiology is engaged in reseatch on this short-lived protection against a number of infectious diseases.

His institute has developed a preparation by means of radioactive ray treatment of a fowl virus. The preparation is harmless and can activate the various defence mechanisms of the organism.

Active materials which can mobilise the body's natural defence mechanisms would be of inestimable value in the treatment of infections which do not respond to antibiotics. This preparation could the first drug able to fight virus diseases.

(Die Welt, 7 June 1978)

■ SOCIETY

Problem boys get hope of a future

Hannoversche Allgemeine

Like young people all over West Germany, the 160 aged between 12 and 18 who live in the four juvenile homes in Freistatt, Lower Saxony, had only one subject of conversation on the day after the German World Cup victory in Argentina ... football.

But their conversation is halting because they have never learned how to communicate.

As the head of the Bodelschwingh Institutions, Pastor Karl-Heinz Lähnemann, explains, they are problem boys, in many cases given up by their parents and other homes.

The four Freistatt homes are idyllically hidden in the lush landscape of Wieting Moor. The first was built 77 years ago.

The staff has to cope with both the recalcitrant youngsters and the historic legacy that can best be summed up as: "If you don't behave yourself, you'll end up in Freistatt" — a threat still heard in many homes.

But the threat does little justice to the work of the institutions which has changed greatly in the past decades.

The outward signs of the changes are the constant conversions of the buildings — even of those built only ten years ago.

While only a few years ago the educational principle revolved around disciplinary measures and confinement and the youngsters had to wear uniforms, today's aim is to build confidence.

The youngsters live in small groups of not more than 12 and each group includes three to four teachers.

Most of the boys have single rooms and meals are taken in the groups' dayrooms rather than in a large diningroom.

At present there are 14 open and five closed groups.

Says Pastor Karl-Heinz Kämper, head of the Freistatt educational project: "Our main problem lies in the fact that all of our charges are here against their will: 45 per cent were committed on court orders and 55 per cent by parents in conjunction with the youth authorities on the basis of a 'voluntary educational assistance'."

At least 80 per cent of the boys have a record of juvenile delinquency.

Andreas, 14, who lives in one of the closed groups, is a typical case. His jobless father started drinking years ago, while his mother earned some money as a char. He had to look after himself, living primarily off potato chips. Discussions in the family were non-existent.

Andreas began to play truant, first by the hour and later for several days, although he always returned home on time.

Then came the first thefts. He broke open vending machines and stole a motorbike.

When his parents found out, they punished him severely, and Andreas ran away from home. The youth authorities advised the parents to voluntarily commit the boy to Freistatt.

Especially in the first days after being committed, the boys have a strong urge to run away.

As Peter Gossing, the medical social worker, puts it: "The teachers must try to establish a relationship of mutual confidence with the boy."

Gossing himself views every new arrival with a mixture of pity, fatherliness and uncertainty.

Boys who have experienced school as a series of failures must gradually get used to the possibility of completing high school. Workshops help them learn a trade.

When they leave the homes, they are permitted to live in community apartments in Freistatt and in neighbouring Sulingen, although they remain under supervision.

One of the major problems for the boys is that for the outside world they are always "those from the home."

Parents of girls at nearby schools refuse invitations for their children to parties in the home.

But at the same time the home's band *Wir* (We) has earned itself a reputation beyond Freistatt and has even made two recordings.

There is no information on the success rate.

"We only see the tip of the iceberg; for instance, when one of the boys writes from prison or when another one had made it outside," says Pastor Kämper.

Asked about their attitudes towards being brought up in an institution, the boys say they want to be regarded as "perfectly normal."

Everybody around Freistatt knows about the institutions, but their ideas about them are vague.

The 10,000 acres of moor which Pastor Friedrich von Bodelschwingh purchased in 1898 house not only the institutions but also a hospital for alcoholics, so-called work colonies for tramps and an old people's home for vagrants.

While at the founding of the institutions in 1899 the reclamation of the moor played a major role, today's Freistatt points to the future as reflected in the change in their names.

The former "Moortown" became "Turning Point" and "Moorburg" became "New Deed".

Nina Börnsen

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 9 June 1978)

Berlin murals go political – and run into trouble

Süddeutsche Zeitung

Berlin citizens' groups have found a new way of venting their dissatisfaction over state policies — by covering bare city walls with colourful but biting protest murals.

Paint manufacturers started a major advertising campaign to promote colourful facades in the major cities.

Promoted with public funds, the campaign fell under the heading of "improvement of the city image."

Americans had an even better idea. They commissioned artists to convert colourless tenament houses into attractive works of art.

The new form of "street art" has spread considerably in West Berlin in the past two years.

Old walls and condemned buildings have been adorned with a wide variety of murals — many of them with political motifs.

The whole thing started in Berlin's Kreuzberg district when nuclear power opponents used a wall to express their objections against a power station in Berlin's Neukölln district.

The mural showed a disgruntled sun lashing out with its fist against a power station because the smoke annoys it. The caption reads: "We have enough electricity!"

The protesting citizens maintain that a nuclear power station emits one ton of sulphur-dioxide per hour, causing chronic coughs, stomach aches and heart ailments.

Dozens of similar paintings have emerged since then. They have colourfulness and a large format in common. The largest of them is 22 metres high and 30 metres wide and depicts a "world tree" through which environmentalists protest against the thoughtless felling of trees and growing pollution. The dying tree with its human features cries out in misery, surrounded by motor cars and exhaust fumes.

Until recently, Berlin's murals were viewed as an embellishment of the city. But since becoming an imaginative means of conveying views and information the authorities have been keeping an eye on them.

From January to April this year, 245 landlords filed suit for "impermissible defacing of walls with political motifs." In 1977 there were 150 such lawsuits.

This prompted CDU member of the Berlin Assembly Henning Lemmer to ask the Senate to do something about these "eyesores in our streets."

The Senate promised that the guilty would be swiftly prosecuted.

In fact, many of these murals — quite apart from the in some instances punishable libel and public incitement — constitute damage to property under the penal code.

The landlord has a right to demand that these paintings be removed. He is entitled to protect his property from being painted, if necessary "with force," under the civil code, though with the reservation that "this force may not exceed the extent necessary to defend the property."

A citizens' initiative for energy planning and environmental protection still refuses to accept the charges against two of its members of having damaged property. They tried to appeal to the public conscience through a colossal painting in the Gropiusstadt housing project. But while they were painting the police arrived.

Said Helga Luckmann, spokesman for the citizens' initiative: "We believe that they were not so much concerned with the ridiculous charges of having damaged property, but wanted to fire a shot across the bows of political dissenters.

"Millions of marks of the taxpayer's money are spent during election campaigns to plaster the city with meaningless posters. But when the citizen tries to depict what troubles him, they instantly say that law and order are in jeopardy."

Willi Kinnigkeit

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 2 June 1978)

Action Ten Per Cent has its tenth birthday

The "Action Ten Per cent" organisation, sponsored by the Protestant Church of Wiesbaden, is celebrating its tenth anniversary of mercy and compassion.

The initiator of this unique help for the famine-stricken of the world is a businessman who, in 1968, made a proposal to the Protestant Church in Wiesbaden: "You can have ten per cent of my taxable income if you find 20 other people to follow suit."

Since then, more than 100 people have joined the scheme. They come from all parts of Germany and all occupations. There are doctors, clergymen, including a bishop, housewives, pensioners, businessmen, students, white-collar workers, professors and public servants.

The one million deutschemarks raised to date went to the Protestant organisation *Diakonisches Werk* in Stuttgart. The money is paid into a special "Bread for the World" fund and distributed according to the principle: "Give a person a fish and he will be sated. Give him a net and he will never again go hungry."

Among the projects promoted are a vocational training centre for young people in Brazil, a training centre for dieticians and nursing staff in India and an agricultural training centre in Egypt.

The man who started the scheme inducing first 20, then 30 and, in 1978, 100 people to contribute ten per cent of their taxable income, is a businessman living between Frankfurt and Wiesbaden.

He is 53, married with four children aged between 12 and 24, and lives in a terrace house.

He employs one person and drives a medium-sized car. One of his conditions was that he should remain anonymous.

The DM10,000 cheque that arrived in the late autumn of 1968 to start Action Ten Per cent meant the donor had to give up a new car.

The original Mr Ten Per Cent has experienced hunger himself. He has been doing well only since the 50s, having succeeded by his own efforts.

Action Ten Per Cent has meanwhile eased the situation of thousands suffering from hunger throughout the world.

This year being the anniversary, Mr Ten Per Cent doubled his contribution from DM15,000 to DM30,000.

After him, the next highest contributions are DM6,000 and DM5,000 — DM1,000 is the average.

Bearing in mind that the average contribution for "Bread for the World" is DM150, it becomes obvious how much goodwill and sense of responsibility was triggered by the example of Mr Ten Per Cent.

Hans-Hellmuth Kannenberg

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 7 June 1978)

■ SPORT

Quick and faultless Macken wins Derby

Fritz Thiedemann, the grand old man of showjumping in the Federal Republic of Germany, is a five-time winner of the German Derby in Kleinflottbek, Hamburg.

He last won the title in 1959 on the Holstein mare Retina and is still a regular, now as a member of the jury.

The competitors at this year's 49th derby (the tournament was first held in 1920) included one rider who might at least have equalled Thiedemann's record: Nelson Pessoa of Brazil.

Pessoa on his thoroughbreds Gran Geste and Espartaco was a favourite with the Hamburg public back in the 60s. He last won the title in 1968.

But he was unable to notch up a fifth win and is unlikely ever to do so. Gran Geste was a superb showjumper and we will not see a combination of the likes of Pessoa and this horse again in a hurry.

Thiedemann's record probably never will be equalled. Showjumpers no longer seem to have the staying power and patience they had in the 50s, the days of Fritz Thiedemann, Raimondo d'Inzeo and Hans Günter Winkler.

Nowadays both horse and rider peak earlier but are also past their best sooner than before.

Alwin Schockemöhle won three times at Kleinflottbek, Hartwig Steenken twice. Schockemöhle has retired, Steenken was killed in a car crash.

Steenken, on Kosmos in 1974, was the last German winner, and this year proved no exception to the recent rule. The DM12,000 in prize money again went abroad.

The 1978 Derby winner was Eddie Macken of Ireland, who won three years ago. British and Irish riders always seem to have felt at home in Hamburg. The natural obstacles — walls and gates — obviously suit them.

Eddie Macken on Boy is certainly a grand sight. Not for nothing was he awarded the special prize for style in the saddle. He is fast too. Four riders cleared every obstacle faultlessly in the first round, so there was a jump-off over a short, eight-jump course. Macken went round the course at a breathtaking pace, yet not for one moment did he seem close to disaster, always effortlessly sure of himself. He appeared to have everything under control: a serene, effortless performance, without any likelihood of a fault.



Eddie Macken on his way to winning the German Derby in Hamburg: the luck and the skill of the Irish (Photo: Fritz Peyer)

Hendrik Snoek (on Asterix), a German rider from Münster, was runner-up. Asterix jumped too high over most of the fences, wasting precious time and ended up 2.8 seconds slower.

Next came Britain's Harvey Smith, a professional if ever there was one, on a horse with the improbable name Sanyo Music Centre (no prizes for guessing who sponsors Smith).

Smith, to give him his due, was one of the first showjumpers to adopt a really professional approach, something no longer considered beyond the pale.

In return for several hundred thousand marks' worth of sponsorship, he has renamed all his horses to suit the Japanese. But they all have other names in their pedigree books and will doubtless revert to them as soon as the contract expires.

It is a somewhat confusing practice which the international federation intends to ban, but it is doutbful whether officials will succeed in turning the clock back.

The facts of present-day life put paid to what was considered proper in the good old days (and were they all that good?).

Much the same is true of the Hamburg Derby. It used to be a well-nigh idyllic tournament for amateurs. Now it is a major international tournament costing nearly one million marks.

Aloys Behler

(Die Zeit, 9 June 1978)

Can Mörken stroke his way back?

Outsiders may well feel that breaststroke ace Gerald Mörken is still way below his best with only a few days before the national championships in West Berlin from 29 June to 2 July.

At the West German regional championships in Wattenscheid in the Ruhr the 18-year-old Dortmund boy swam the 100 metres in 1 min. 9.9 sec — a far cry from the min. 2.86 sec world record he set last year. Mörken is confident he will be back in top form in time for the world championships, also in West Berlin, from 18 to 28 August.

But he realises that he lost precious time earlier this year due to illness and injury — and probably wasted training time in the blaze of glory that followed his surprise European championship run last summer.

"Physically Gerald is fully fit again," says coach Manfred Thiesmann. But he is unlikely to swim in Berlin with the nonchalance of the greenhorn and unknown that he was last summer in Jönköping, Sweden.

"What he now lacks is self-confidence and the belief in his own prowess," says his coach. "Which is why I feel his showing at the national championships in Berlin will be of crucial importance for the world championships.

"He will have to swim the 100 metres breast stroke in 1 min. 4 sec or so. We will then have 40 days in which to peak. That should be enough."

Even with a world record to his credit Mörken will face stiff competition at home. The breaststroke is currently the country's best event by far.

Walter Kusch of Würzburg, who came third at last year's European championships, and Peter Lang of Frankenthal, who came ninth at the 1975 world championships, will probably be Mörken's closest rivals.

At the world championships he will have to be in the form in which he set his world record to be at all sure of a medal.

Gerd Heydn

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 14 June 1978)

Bernd Klingner misses his last bullseye

"What I wouldn't give for a pint," said small-bore marksman Bernd Klingner, the veteran of 24 years in the German national team, after his final appearance for his country in Munich on 3 June.

In the summer sun he certainly deserved his ale. His only other comment expressed relief now he has finally made up his mind to call it a day.

Ace shottist Klingner, who won an Olympic gold medal in 1968 and still holds the world record of 396 out of 400 in his favourite event, did not exactly sign off in triumph.

His mediocre performance in Munich only bears out what he himself admits: "I have physical problems that I can no longer master."

Bremervörde businessman Klingner had intended to retire after his silver jubilee as a member of the national small-bore team, having qualified for the world championships one last time this season.

But he realised that he would be tempting providence by staying on as long as the going was good. Both personally and as the author of a textbook on marksmanship, he acknowledges that age taken its toll no matter how good you are.

"Thirty-five is about the limit," he says. It is only natural that there are times nowadays when he can no longer clearly see the target.

Klingner, 38, has been a marksman since long before he won European championship honours in Milan in 1959 at the age of 19.

Next year would have been his silver jubilee year at the top, but his first outing this year, at Lwow in Poland, was a disappointment. In training his performance was also below par.

When he came home to find his wife in hospital he decided the time had finally come to retire from the international arena.

Fritz Heimann

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 7 June 1978)

Schmidt the stubborn is world-beater

Harald Schmidt could well set a record of the century like Bob Beamon's 8.90 metres (29ft 10½ in) in the long jump at Mexico City in 1968, says Ed Moses, the US 400 metres hurdless world record holder.

Schmidt is a 20-year-old civil service trainee from Gelnhausen, a small town in Hesse.

Over the past fortnight Schmidt, with his distinctive beard and carefree Californian sprint star's pose, has made short work of the conventional wisdom of athletics.

He has run every distance between 100 and 800 metres, including the 110 to 400 metres hurdles, in outstanding times. Schmidt is a jack-of-all-trades, a sprinter, a middle-distance runner and a hurdles specialist.

"Never in the history of amateur athletics has there been a runner with such a wide-ranging talent," says Roger Moens, the Belgian former 800 metres world record holder.

The figures speak for themselves. This season Schmid's best time for the 100 metres has been 10.3 seconds. But he has also run the 200 metres in 20.9, the 400 metres in 45.5, the 800 metres in 1 min. 46.93 sec.

His times for the 110 and 400 metres hurdles have been 14.7 and 49.66 seconds.

Last year the leading clubs fought to secure his services but Schmid wanted to stay in his home town, where he trains on his own on an older cinder track with endurance and power as his targets.

He has no financial problems now that sports manufacturers Puna sponsor him. At major international meetings he can count on between DM1,000 and DM1,200 in expenses for each event he competes in.

In early September he plans to win the European 400 metres hurdles title in Prague, having calculated that this is the event with the least competition.

What is more, with a European gold medal to his credit, Hrald Schmid would be the only serious rival for leading US aces in the event.

This is why promoters are busy trying to sign him on for meetings later in the season at his current market rate. But Schmid is resisting the temptation just as stoutly as he refuses to consider having a trainer.

Gerhard Hennige, 400 metres hurdles silver medallist in Mexico, thinks the budding superstar's career will be a short one.

"He trains to the limit of his endurance every time and will take no advice," Hennige says. "He will be a has-been by the time the Moscow Olympics come round."

Hennige, who coaches 400 metres ace Lothar Krieg, goes on: "Ligaments and tendons just cannot take the punishment Schmid is giving his body. Decathlon star Kurt Bendlin and European 400 metres champion Karl Honz ruined their careers in much the same way."

"My plans are worked out to the finest detail," says Schmid. "I'm not worrying." He will hear nothing of taking it a little easier at minor meetings. "Rubbish," he says. "When I run I run."

Klaus Blume

(Die Welt, 14 June 1978)